ancient maya women

edited by

TRACI
ARDREN

Материал, защищенный авторским правом

http://longfiles.com/40hny4d9zu6o/Ancient_Maya_Women_(Gender_and_Archaeology).pdf.html

ANCIENT MAYA WOMEN

GENDER AND ARCHAEOLOGY SERIES

Series Editor
Sarah Milledge Nelson
University of Denver

This series focuses on ways to understand gender in the past through archaeology. This is a topic poised for significant advances in both method and theory, which in turn can improve all archaeology. The possibilities of new methodological rigor as well as new insights into past cultures are what make gendered archaeology a vigorous and thriving subfield.

The series welcomes single-authored books on themes in this topical area, particularly ones with a comparative focus. Edited collections with a strong theoretical or methodological orientation will also be considered. Audiences are practicing archaeologists and advanced students in this field.

BOOKS IN THE SERIES

Volume 1,	*In Pursuit of Gender: Worldwide Archaeological Approaches,* Sarah Milledge Nelson and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, Editors
Volume 2,	*Gender and the Archaeology of Death,* Bettina Arnold and Nancy L. Wicker, Editors
Volume 3,	*Ancient Maya Women,* Traci Ardren, Editor

Submission Guidelines

Prospective authors of single- or co-authored books and editors of anthologies should submit a letter of introduction, the manuscript or a four to ten page proposal, a book outline, and a curriculum vitae. Please send your book/manuscript proposal packet to:

Gender in Archaeology Series
AltaMira Press
1630 North Main Street #367
Walnut Creek, CA 94596
(925) 938-7243
www.altamirapress.com

ANCIENT MAYA WOMEN

EDITED BY
TRACI ARDREN

ALTAMIRA
PRESS
A Division of
ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, INC.
Walnut Creek • Lanham • New York • Oxford

ALTAMIRA PRESS
A Division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
1630 North Main Street, #367
Walnut Creek, CA 94596
www.altamirapress.com

Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
4720 Boston Way
Lanham, MD 20706

12 Hid's Copse Road
Cumnor Hill, Oxford OX2 9JJ, England

Copyright © 2002 by AltaMira Press

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ancient Maya women / edited by Traci Ardren.
p. cm. — (Gender and archaeology series ; v. 3)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0- 7591-0010-7
1. Maya women—History. 2. Maya women—Politics and government. 3. Maya women—Social conditions. I. Ardren, Traci. II. Series.

F1435.3.W55 A53 2001
305.48'8974152'00901—dc21

2001044069

Printed in the United States of America

∞™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48–1992.

For Morgan and Cyrus,
who share their Mama so well

CONTENTS

Preface ix
June C. Nash

1. Women and Gender in the Ancient Maya World 1
Traci Ardren

2. Gender and Maya Farming: Chan Nòohol, Belize 12
Cynthia Robin

3. Gender Divisions of Labor and Lowland Terrace Agriculture 31
Linda Stephen Neff

4. Spindle Whorls: Household Specialization at Ceren 52
Marilyn Beaudry-Corbett and Sharisse McCafferty

5. Death Became Her: Images of Female Power from Yaxuna Burials 68
Traci Ardren

6. Engendering a Dynasty: A Royal Woman in the Margarita Tomb, Copan 89
Ellen E. Bell

7. Lady K'awil, Goddess O, and Maya Warfare 105
Maricela Ayala Falcón

8. Women in Classic Maya Hieroglyphic Texts 114
J. Kathryn Josserand

9. Women in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Chichén Itzá 152
Ruth J. Krochock

10. Women-Men (and Men-Women): Classic Maya Rulers and the Third Gender 171
Matthew G. Looper

11. Representations of Women in Postclassic and Colonial Maya Literature and Art 203
Gabrielle Vail and Andrea Stone

12. Encountering Maya Women 229
Wendy Ashmore

Bibliography 247

Index 283

About the Contributors 291

PREFACE

JUNE C. NASH

IN THE PROCESS OF engendering archaeological materials, these researchers have brought faces and forms to the Maya sites where they work. The task requires that information from a wide variety of sources be creatively assembled and interpreted: Ethnographic observations enable the researchers to visualize the fabrication and function of tools, the social relations in production and reproduction, and the enactment of ideals symbolized in texts and epigraphy. Ethnohistorical research extends these understandings back in time to reveal sequences and processes that can then be verified in archaeological finds. Advances in epigraphy expand the interpretive base as studies reveal more of the past than we could have imagined a few decades ago. By focusing on the distaff side of human history, we gain new insights into the cosmological, ideational, and biological dimensions of Maya society. A gendered perspective on these new materials and interpretations expands those dimensions, allowing us to appreciate Maya philosophical premises of balance and harmony in a cyclical passage of time that ensures the renewal of life after death.

Women emerge as strong protagonists of the high civilization that developed in Mesoamerica over the past two millennia, but the record remains contradictory. For example, Traci Ardren shows that the sexed skeletal remains from Yaxuna reveal that women had a poorer diet and that their life span was a decade less than that of men, yet epigraphic analysis indicates that women enjoyed high ceremonial status as essential progenitors in the perpetuation of elite lineages.

Although women had unequal access to the community's resources in Yaxuna, they were equally subject to attack by rival groups that sought to usurp them, as the interred bodies corroborate. Women's grave goods, as Ardren interprets them, indicate productive roles that go beyond those noted in texts by contemporaries and the Spaniards in the early colonial period. Thus, weaving, represented by bone embroidery picks, and pottery found among women's grave offerings suggest women's engagement in activities in which contemporary Maya women predominate. Marilyn Beaudry-Corbett and Sharisse McCafferty develop this idea further with a careful examination of the evidence for weaving at Joya de Ceren in El Salvador, a site buried in volcanic ash. Beaudry-Corbett and McCafferty demonstrate that a variety of materials were spun on clay spindle whorls in household settings much as they are today in highland households. Sculpted figurines of female deities engaged in weaving and spinning clearly indicate the values ascribed to women's works in early Olmec sites that may have declined with the rise of militarism and the state.

These contradictions reflect the ambivalence of Mayas regarding women that implicitly recognizes their power while denying recognition of their accomplishments. Gender complementarity in productive roles reaffirms the complementarity of procreative processes that gave authority to ruling lineages, even though women's names are not often mentioned in the dynastic lineages. The researchers discover their contributions by indirect evidence in grave goods and associated inscriptions. Even the male usurpation of women's vestments to make a point about their legitimacy as kings reveals, as Matthew G. Looper suggests, the suppressed belief in the power they embody.

Just as the study of context makes up for the lack of textual references, so the reverse occurs. Ruth J. Krochock demonstrates this in the case of Terminal Classic Chichén Itzá, where texts regarding lineage show that women provided the political sanction to male succession to power. Similarly, women of prestigious families left their natal kingdoms to lend prestige to faltering political sites. Scholars learn of these women's roles by default rather than forthright announcements as in the case of male leaders. For example, Linda Schele and David Freidel (1990: 187–88) note that when Lady Wac Kan Ahaw left her home in Dos Pilas to marry a Naranjo noble, her son succeeded his father at the age of five and thereafter dedicated a monument to his mother each time he celebrated his succession. This alerted Krochock to find parallels with five other women of Chichén Itzá: Lady K'ayam, Lady Ton Ahaw, Lady Ton Multun, Lady Bak Lem, and Lady Nik, all of whom mothered famous sons. Similarly, the strangers from Teotihuacan were able to achieve leadership in Maya capitals through marriage to the women of important lineages, a technique the Aztecs used in gaining leadership in the central plateau by marrying prestigious women of the Culhuacan lineages. Such inferences can be made only with the kind of specific personages identified in this careful analysis.

The few women who emerge as figures in early texts suggest dimensions of female leadership that are rarely taken into account in Maya studies that emphasize patrilineage. The old, fat woman described by Diaz del Castillo upon his arrival in Chiapas opens up a window for Maricela Ayala Falcón to speculate on female roles at Toniná, which has only lately come into the archaeological perspectives on Classic Maya centers. The figure of a menacing Moon Goddess about to kill a captive may have a relationship to the elusive Lady K'awil referred to by one of the governors of Toniná. Assumptions about patrilineage were so impressed on such data in the recent past that references such as these were thrown out with other pieces of the puzzle that did not fit.

Gabrielle Vail and Andrea Stone bring together Bishop Diego de Landa's *Relaciones* with representations in codices to confront the androcentric biases evident in each. The codices relate to the concerns of commoners that are ignored in monumental sculpture, yielding a more complex understanding of the metaphoric relationship between women's tasks and their personas. For example, spinning and weaving are related to conception and childbearing, metaphors that still prevail in Guatemala. The interpretation of male–female duality that Vail and Stone decode in the codices differs from that described by Looper. For the former, female signifiers appearing on male figures suggest their immediate association with female tasks, indicating that men attempted to take over the feminine role with its connotations of power. In contrast, the transsexuality implied by Looper seems to be derived from notions that exclude androgeny.

Criticizing Landa's statement that women are strictly prohibited from public rituals, Vail and Stone point to the codices that illustrate women, especially old women, engaged in ritual activities linked to males. With the ethnographic record we can now correct the assumption by many Western viewers, including Landa, that the proscription against women in ritual life was because of their impurity. As I learned in my fieldwork in Amatenango del Valle, Chiapas, the proscription, usually restricted to nubile women, is more related to female power. Women are assumed to be hot during certain phases of the menstrual cycle, and the power this connotes would conflict with the power generated in rituals, thus causing a rupture (Nash 1970). The specificity of age-related ritual roles in contemporary Maya communities and in the codices is one of the most impressive signs of the continuity of the culture over time. Vail and Stone show that the codices, as a "template to guide ritual behavior and as an expression of underlying societal beliefs," yield a picture of much fuller ritual and societal participation of females than Landa suggests.

Specification of artifact context by microlocations enhances kinship- and gender-particular studies that give flesh and substance to history. Ellen E. Bell's study of gravesites in Copan clarifies the allocation of gender roles. Making up for the lack of specific historical data on women, she uses the skills of a detective, elaborating details of the burial of one woman that establish the identity of the interred remains and then relating the provenience to other such figures in other Maya sites. The person in the grave can be identified by her grave goods as a woman, a mother, and a weaver; this anonymous woman's ceremonial burial costume suggests a relationship to the Moon Goddess, and the figures decorating the furnishings of the tomb relate to prestigious Teotihuacan figures. Osteological evidence indicates that she was an active woman while young but suffered from painful knee and lower back problems later in life, and strontium isotope ratio analysis indicates her birth in a different area. Bell hypothesizes that her life might be a parallel to that of Lady Kanal Ikal, who ruled in Palenque until her son Pacal succeeded her, and that the constant reconstruction of her burial site might indicate the she remained a reference figure in establishing the dynasty long after her death. Taking this analysis one step further, J. K. Josserand points out parallels between other sequences of succession in which women clearly served as dynastic links in Tikal and Naranjo. The power that women exhibit in dynastic succession may, according to Josserand, relate to their uniting of patrilines not only within the ethnic group but between ethnic groups. In an age when Toltecs were arriving en masse in the southern regions occupied by the Maya, this may have cast Maya women in a particularly strategic role vis-à-vis the invaders and their own men.

The contributors have expanded the range of data in their analyses of prehistoric material by including ethnography and ethnohistorical analyses. This adds a functional dimension to the material, providing a greater base for conjecture of what actually happened. Linda Stephen Neff combines her analysis of the location of tools associated with intensified agriculture in Dos Chombitos with ethnographic studies of functioning agricultural communities to assess gender roles. Weaving together descriptions from ethnography, ethnohistory, and archaeological excavations, she further refines a gendered model of agricultural activities, identifying three areas in which gender-related activities take place. These are the house site, adjacent tilled lands, and the distant fields that pinpoint the degree to which women and men participated in agricultural tasks. This conjunctive approach in data analysis enables her to conclude that both sexes participated in the tasks of milpa agriculture over time and that the increase in domestic activities performed by women as intensive agriculture was introduced explains the fluctuation in women's engagement in agricultural production.

Clearly there is no regional pattern in the gendering of tasks in the Mayan area. Historical and ecological distinctions among communities within close range of each other in highland Chiapas indicate this more clearly than those in the Yucatán, where altitudinal differences are not as extreme. Thus, women who are engaged in craft production, particularly when this is part of market exchange, reduce some cultivation practices but may take on others. For example, women of Amatenango del Valle, Chiapas, who produce and sell pottery never have carried out weeding and watering tasks as their neighbors in Chamula do. But with population increases and reduced land available, intensification of agriculture now requires costly chemical inputs. Hence, women have a new gender-specific role in planting: they sprinkle the fertilizer bought with the money they earn to demonstrate their contribution while men continue to sow the seed. And like most women in highland villages, they along with their children assist in the harvesting. Their income, like that of female artisans in other Maya towns, effectively subsidizes small plot farming, which might otherwise have been abandoned as costs for herbicides and pesticides as well as fertilizers become a necessary part of the new intensive techniques (Nash 1993).

Ethnographic evidence brings to light the fact that variations related to changing technologies, available land, and population have influenced gender allocations of time in unpredictable ways. This is spelled out at length by Cynthia Robin, who shows that men and women not only often collaborated in tasks but did so in a variety of settings that were once thought proscribed for female activities. She calls for greater attention to child nurturance and rearing as they affect engagement in agricultural tasks. Such data collection is a necessary prelude to sharpening our models not only for farming but for artisan production. For example, I was able to show that Chayanov's model correlating increases in artisan production with the number of dependents in the family applies only to households with exclusively male artisans, for female potters decrease their production when there are increasing numbers of minors (Nash 1993). Similarly the engagement of women in agriculture, even when this is traditionally expected, might also decline until their children can engage in these activities with them. In the northern Lacandon area that Robin chooses to compare with Classic Maya practices, contemporary Ch'ol and Tzeltal farmers have expanded cash crops with coffee cultivation because the labor of women and children can be utilized particularly in the harvesting of this crop.

At a time when social anthropologists are tending to abandon ethnographic criteria of objectivity and scope of sampling, these essays remind us of the importance of quantitative evidence and repetitive observations in favor of, as well as supplemental to, imaginative interpretations. The careful attention to detail, the consideration of alternative explanations, and the multiple sources of data referred to in checking hypotheses are in the best traditions of a discipline that pretends to be a science. The collection is a welcome addition to feminist studies in critiquing androcentric assumptions that guided both the creators of texts, imagery, and sculpture and the ethnohistorical and ethnographic observers over the 500 years of contact and assimilation. Profuse illustrations allow readers to draw their own conclusions about the interpretations. It is, indeed, a welcome addition to Maya studies for practitioners and aficionados.

I

Women and Gender in the Ancient Maya World

TRACI ARDREN

For many years, scholars of ancient Maya culture have known that a young princess named Lady Wac Kan Ahaw, or "Lady Six Sky," was sent from the powerful dynasty of Dos Pilas to rule at the ancient city of Naranjo, almost 150 kilometers from her family and home. According to the hieroglyphic record, Lady Wac Kan Ahaw ruled in her own right for ten years, yielding officially only when her young son took over rule of the site. Even then, it is clear that Wac Kan Ahaw continued to effectively govern the city because her son was only five years old when he took the throne.

Epigraphers, archaeologists, art historians, and anthropologists have made significant progress over the last twenty years trying to understand the puzzle of how a young princess was sent so far from her home to rule a distant city. We now understand that the dynasty of Naranjo was weak and needed revitalization from its ally, Dos Pilas. We can read Lady Wac Kan Ahaw's actual name in the hieroglyphic record, rather than the approximation of "Lady Six Sky" that was used for so long, and we understand the dates given for her reign as well as those of her son and successor. We know that this powerful queen was unusual and that there are very few other documented cases of women ruling in their own right at ancient Maya cities, although archaeology continues to generate new evidence of queens not previously known in the hieroglyphic record. But we still do not understand why it was necessary for a capable and experienced queen to formally relinquish power to a child of only five years. We do not have an adequate explanation for why, in 682 C.E., the ruling family of Dos Pilas chose a young daughter to send to the distant and failing capital instead of following the normal pattern of sending a second son. But part of the reason we do not have satisfactory explanations for the life of Wac Chanil Ahau is that we have not asked the right questions. This book is one of the very first attempts to explore the complex dynamics of gender relations in ancient Maya culture, and while it may not solve the mystery of Wac Chanil Ahau's life fully, it will illuminate the choices that ancient Maya women had available to them. This approach promises to help us understand not only what historical or political forces the young princess lived under but what cultural beliefs she may have used as the basis for an assertion of power.

Ancient Maya Women is a multidisciplinary attempt to highlight new research in the Maya world that views women as agents or active participants in the creation, modification, and replication of culture. One regret the authors share is that we have not had time to address male gender more thoroughly. This is obvious from the title of the volume! We acknowledge that gender as a structuring principle is equally profound in the lives of men, and certainly the artistic and archaeological corpus from the ancient Maya world shows that young men were quickly and forcibly brought into clearly defined gender roles. But the research presented here, offered as an opening scene in what we hope will be a long dialogue, focuses on the lives of ancient women not because we believe they are in any way intrinsically more important or interesting than the lives of ancient men but because so few have ever chosen to see and acknowledge the women who occupied the ancient landscape of Maya cities and villages. In Mesoamerica we have every reason to begin at the beginning and await the arrival of more colleagues with whom to collaborate on a future volume dedicated to the decipherment of Maya masculinity.

The research collected in this volume is diverse, situated in many different parts of the ancient Maya world (see figure I.1), and proceeds from a variety of theoretical and methodological positions. It is my view, and the view of many of the authors, that this diversity of perspectives and approaches is a productive exercise in the development of an understanding of gender in ancient Maya culture. There can be no single explanation of gender dynamics in a culture as rich and diverse as the ancient Maya world—just as today there is no single experience of what it means to be female or male. A multitude of factors affected any individual who lived in ancient complex societies—personality, economic station, regional conditions, historical forces—but the authors of the present volume all agree that the experience of gender, especially the imposition of dominant cultural values, was one of the primary forces in the lives of ancient individuals. As such,

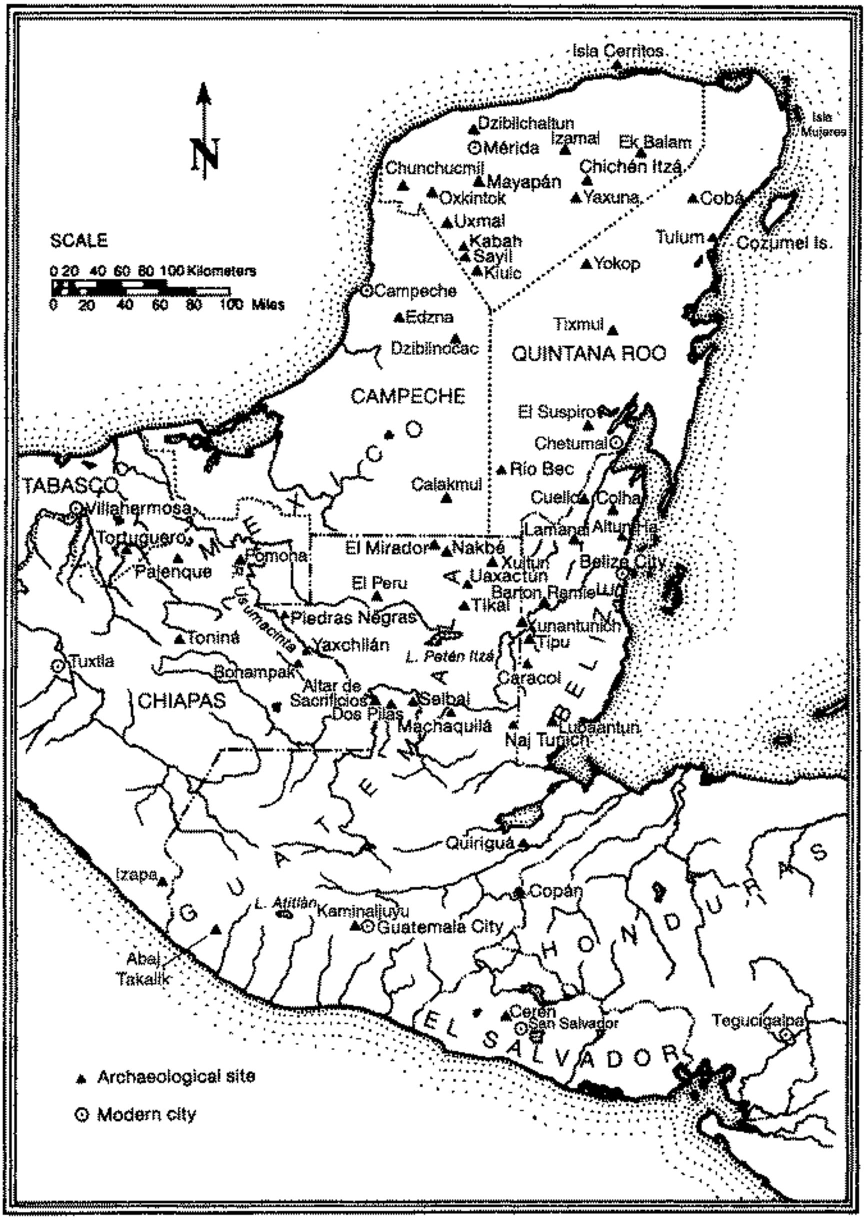

N
SCALE
0 20 40 60 80 100 Kilometers
0 20 40 60 80 100 Miles
Isla Cerritos
Isla Mujeres
Dzibilchaltun
Mérida
Izamal
Ek Balam
Chunchucmil
Mayapán
Chichén Itzá
Oxkintok
Yaxuna
Cobá
Uxmal
Kabah
Sayil
Kiuic
Tulum
Cozumel Is.
Yokop
Campeche
Edzna
Tixmul
Dzibilnocac
QUINTANA ROO
CAMPECHE
El Suspiro
Chetumal
M E X I C O
Río Bec
TABASCO
Calakmul
Villahermosa
Cuello
Colha
Tortuguero
Lamanai
Altun Ha
El Mirador
Nakbé
Pomona
Xultun
Belize City
Palenque
Uaxactún
El Peru
Barton Ramie
Tikal
Usumacinta
Piedras Negras
Xunantunich
Toniná
Yaxchilán
Tipu
L. Petén Itzá
Tuxtla
Bonampak
Caracol
Altar de Sacrificios
CHIAPAS
Seibal
B E L I Z E
Dos Pilas
Machaquilá
Lubaantun
Naj Tunich
G U A T E M A L A
Quiriguá
H O N D U R A S
Izapa
Copán
L. Atitlán
Kaminaljuyu
Guatemala City
Abaj Takalik
Cerén
San Salvador
Tegucigalpa
E L S A L V A D O R
▲ Archaeological site
⊙ Modern city

Figure 1.1. Map of the Maya area showing archaeological sites mentioned in the text.

ideologies of gender deserve serious scholarly attention as a factor in the organization of ancient civilization.

Gender is a primary structuring principle in any society, a means by which to categorize and define the differences between people. Some societies emphasize gender as an organizing principle, while others choose to emphasize other equally complex factors such as socioeconomic status or religious membership. But all societies have some mechanism for ordering human individuals into groups based in some small part on their biological roles and in larger measure on the values and needs of the society. But, of course, "cultures" are made up of people, and the relationship between how much of our gender ideology, or self-understanding of gender, we receive from the dominant culture and how much we generate ourselves is one aspect of the study of gender that is highly productive for the field of anthropology. Just as Lady Wac Kan Ahaw was subject to the values of her culture, she also surely manipulated those values to some degree. Is it so unthinkable that she may have wanted to leave Dos Pilas for her own reasons?

Thus, a study of gender dynamics is a study of one of the most fundamental cultural processes yet identified by anthropology. Gender is a process not only because children are shaped into women and men by the norms or values of their culture but also because individuals struggle with these roles to varying degrees over their lifetimes. The girl who finds it easy to care for siblings when young may chafe at the expectation of child rearing as a woman, yet in many cultures the status of woman cannot be achieved without fulfilling the role of mother. In addition, each culture varies in the degree to which it limits or defines the variation within gender roles, and these limits change over time. As Classic Maya culture evolved, it became more rigid in the expression of appropriate gender roles for women. The nature of the archaeological record, which often provides only a single moment in time or only certain segments of an ancient life, dictates that we are able to recover only small sections of the processes of accommodation and replication that characterize the dynamic of gender.

When archaeologists examine human burials, we see how the dominant culture, in the form of surviving family members, wanted an individual to be remembered or portrayed in death, but we also get a glimpse of how the deceased wanted to express his or her gendered identity in death. The ability to decipher the difference is one of the real skills of good analysis, and while we make no claims that archaeological and art historical data are transparent on this issue, the authors in this volume collectively advance our ability to see the difference between individual agency and cultural dominance in the expression of gender in ancient Maya culture. By examining the intersection between cosmological beliefs about how the world should work and actual activities, many of the chapters in *Ancient Maya*

Women demonstrate that multiple layers of cultural experience existed in ancient times and should be able to be recovered by careful analysis.

The data available to students of ancient gender roles are particularly rich in the Maya world. We have, in addition to a very nuanced hieroglyphic record that describes the individual actors in elite dynastic history, an artistic record that displays in a very formulaic way certain principles of representation. These principles of representation are clearly dependent on culturally specific ideas about gender and how it contributes to the appropriate presentation of identity. As a complement and sometime corrective to these already very profound bodies of data, Maya archaeologists are able to recover some of the most spectacular and informative data about the lives of ancient women and men from the day-to-day excavation of ancient settlements and households, what today constitutes the majority of fieldwork done in the Maya world. After a long history of attention to the women who appear on stone stelae from palaces and temples, Mayanists are now beginning to undertake the necessary challenge of finding remnants of the lives of the majority of ancient women, those who lived in households made up of noisy children and mundane tasks. The chapters in *Ancient Maya Women* represent all of these approaches: the archaeology of households as well as the epigraphy of queens, the art history of daily life as well as the excavation of tombs.

The collaboration that develops from such a diverse set of theoretical perspectives and bodies of data is a hallmark of what Maya archaeology has to offer the fields of archaeology, anthropology, and gender studies. The diverse group of specialists assembled in this book is committed to what is now known as the "conjunctive approach." The conjunctive approach acknowledges that many types of data are relevant to certain questions and combines epigraphic, archaeological, and art historical information to answer a question. In the Maya world, this perspective is characterized by research that draws equally from hieroglyphic records and household artifact patterning. Demanding to the researchers, who must be competent in many fields of data, the conjunctive approach yields a rich portrayal of ancient life that is impossible to achieve with a single body of data. In fact, one concept behind *Ancient Maya Women* was to offer the reader new work by the best specialists from many fields of study, thus enabling the reader to draw something from each contribution and eventually create an individual synthesis that may be greater than any one perspective.

Another motivation behind the creation of *Ancient Maya Women* was a sense of serious responsibility to the public, for many are actively clamoring for archaeologists to address issues such as the ancient lives of women. Engendering the past is a responsibility that is best handled by researchers who are familiar with the contradictions as well as the patterns in data sets and who will develop a conceptual framework for the examination of gender and then conduct the appropriate fieldwork to test their conclusions. Reconstructions of the ancient Maya past have become much subtler in relation to issues of power and politics in the recent past, but most still lack a narrative that speaks to how women and men experienced the roles and choices available to them. It is our hope that the research presented in *Ancient Maya Women* will speak to both academic and public audiences, each of which is interested in gender in its own way and each of which has something meaningful to contribute to a dialogue on an engendered past. These chapters will collectively contribute to this dialogue with new and more detailed knowledge about the choices and experiences of some women, rulers and weavers, mothers and daughters, who lived in ancient times.

A History of Research

The art historian Herbert Spinden was the first scholar of ancient Maya culture to devote serious attention to the female figure in Maya art. In his doctoral thesis later published as *A Study of Maya Art* (1913), Spinden notes the presence of women in the monuments (earlier noted by Alfred P. Maudslay when he recorded stelae in the late nineteenth century) in his general treatment of the human form in Maya art. Spinden's discussion of the lintels from Yaxchilan, now famous as some of the most stunning portraits of ancient women, helped bring these beautiful pieces to the attention of academic scholars of art. But Spinden did little more than mention that there were women present on the lintels, identified by him on the basis of their elaborate "drapery" or embroidered *huipiles,* and in fact devoted more space to the serpent figures than to the women portrayed.

Over the next forty years interest in the cultures of ancient Mesoamerica grew, but little research on women was published. In 1960, renowned art historian and epigrapher Tatiana Proskouriakoff began publication of a series of articles that present her spectacular breakthroughs in understanding Maya dynastic history. One of the first glyphs Proskouriakoff deciphered was the feminine name prefix, a discovery that revolutionized the interpretation of figures in Maya art. Proskouriakoff was the first to posit the theory that the figures on the stelae were meant to be historical portraits of rulers and their families, and she suggested that the female figures from Piedras Negras might be queens. In 1961, Proskouriakoff published an article entitled "Portraits of Women in Maya Art" in a collected volume on precolonial art. In this article she defines the characteristics used to distinguish female figures and feminine head glyphs. This was an unprecedented step in the acceptance of women in Maya art, which makes her article a classic that is still cited today. In 1963 and 1964, Proskouriakoff continued her break-through articles with an examination of the dynastic lineage of Yaxchilan. Here she discusses the many lintels that portray women and is able to decipher that a number of women are mentioned repeatedly at Yaxchilan. Probably the most important theoretical contribution from these articles is the growing awareness of the role of women in political networks through marriage alliances.

In 1969, George Kubler published the first comprehensive study of ancient Maya art since Spinden's. Kubler drew heavily on the new hieroglyphic decipherment of Proskouriakoff and others but added new observations about the role of women in ancient Maya culture derived from his familiarity with a larger body of images. Particularly significant is his mention of the royal family scenes in the newly discovered murals of Bonampak, as well as the role of women in accession ceremonies at Palenque, also relatively new to the academic world. Kubler describes the Oval Palace Tablet from Palenque, in which Lady Sak K'uk' presents her son with a royal crown at his accession in 615 C.E. Kubler's analysis brought the art historical world up to date on the complexities of ancient Maya culture and contributed to a growing awareness that royal women had wielded significant power in certain situations.

In 1974, two archaeologists contributed the first perspective on ancient Maya women to be drawn from primarily archaeological data. In an article entitled "Sexploitation among the Late Classic Maya," John P. Molloy and William J. Rathje attempt to integrate the new epigraphic data on marriage alliances with broader patterns of trade and economic interaction. The authors view royal women as another important resource to be controlled by elites, along with obsidian, jade, and ceremonial foods like cacao. While clearly a long way from seeing women as agents of their own lives, this article did introduce a generation of archaeologists to the concept of women as participants in Maya political life and culture.

A related monograph was published by Joyce Marcus in 1976. *Emblem and State in the Classic Maya Lowlands* is a study of the interrelationships among Classic period sites, based on the appearance of emblem glyphs in the corpus of hieroglyphic inscriptions. Marcus found that many foreign emblem glyphs at sites were associated with the names of women, usually a woman who had married the ruler of the local site. Perhaps one of the most lasting contributions of *Emblem and State in the Classic Maya Lowlands* is the use of artistic and epigraphic data in an essentially archaeological or anthropological analysis. Marcus's work alerted her archaeological colleagues to a world of data available in the subdisciplines of epigraphy and art history that would bear on archaeological questions of trade, elite interactions, and the evolution of the state.

With the publication in 1986 of *The Blood of Kings,* a monumental analysis of masterpieces of Maya art by epigrapher Linda Schele and art historian Mary Miller, attention to women in Maya culture entered a new era. In all earlier works women were incidental characters, but Schele and Miller present the female nobility in much more robust and nuanced light. Drawing on advances in glyphic decipherment and knowledge shared by scholars at such important conjunctive arenas as the Palenque Mesa Redondas, Schele and Miller were able to elucidate the immense role women played in the maintenance of ancient Maya dynastic lineages. In this study, mothers of future rulers are understood to have played a very crucial part in establishing the validity of any ruler, and throughout the book the partnership of male and female, or what has come to be referred to as the complementarity of Maya culture, is emphasized and explained to the public and academic worlds. Throughout *The Blood of Kings,* women are treated equally alongside men, whether that is in an analysis of royal costume, rulership, or supernatural power.

Art historians continued to be at the forefront of research on gender in ancient Maya culture during the late 1980s. In 1988 Virginia Miller published an edited volume entitled *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture,* which includes a chapter on women's costumes in the royal art of Maya monuments by Karen Olsen Bruhns. Miller identifies a number of key themes in the study of gender in Maya art, including the disproportionate emphasis on themes of motherhood that obscures the role women played in a certain economic systems. Miller also suggests that much more work needed to be done correlating mortuary and artistic data, to see if patterns might emerge in the treatment of women in death. Miller's volume was one of the first to note the growing awareness of connections between women's status and their role as producers of one of the most highly valued and symbolically potent products, woven cloth.

In 1992, Rosemary Joyce began publishing a series of very influential articles that have done more to further the development of a theoretical perspective on gender in ancient Mesoamerica than almost any other works (1992b, 1993, 1996a, 2000c). Joyce uses largely artistic data to examine anthropological questions of how gender was used to organize power and production in ancient Maya culture. Developing the concept of gender complementarity, Joyce asserts that monuments like stelae and lintels were produced in part to define appropriate gender roles from the perspective of the dominant state. Joyce's work remains very important because it draws heavily on the broader literature of gender studies. For the first time in Maya studies, gender was viewed as a fluid category to be manipulated by the dominant culture, not a biological given. Joyce uses primarily images of Maya elite from the monumental corpus, the same stelae and lintels that art historians had been describing for nearly a century, but brings their interpretation to a new level by asking why certain formulaic representations of women and men seem to appear over and over. Suggesting that the costume elements worn by women and men represented productive roles within the society, not reflections of any biological reality, and hence were assumable by any individual, Joyce demonstrates that gender was manipulated at elite levels as another form of propaganda to serve the needs of the state. She is quick to acknowledge that the depiction of women and men in monuments was probably not particularly related to the daily experience of women and men in Maya society, which can only be approached by archaeological investigation of households and burials. The artistic corpus instead represents an effort to shape experience and ideas about gender by a small controlling elite minority. Joyce makes connections to what is known of ancient Maya cosmological principles and draws much of her model for gender complementarity from examples of complementarity in the mythological texts of the Maya.

This line of investigation has culminated in a recent monograph on the broader subject of gender in Mesoamerica entitled *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica* (Joyce 2000a). Still relying on primarily monumental art, Joyce now argues that epigraphic statements are relatively vague on the subject of gender while costuming is a relatively stable system of symbology that contrasts women and domestic production with men and forest production. Although we learn little of individual women or the variation of experiences of gender that must have existed in the past, Joyce has made a lasting contribution by demonstrating that in ancient Maya society, gender was contested and manipulated in predictable ways, especially in the arena of the house and lineage power.

Julia Hendon was one of the first Maya archaeologists to publish an engendered analysis of archaeological materials from the Maya area. In a 1997 article, Hendon proposes that textile and food production were important components in the definition of female social identity. By locating these activities within a particular elite residential compound at Copan, Hendon is able to demonstrate that a certain group of elite women spent much of their time engaged in productive activities important to the economic life of the city. Hendon's study was an important beginning to the type of research presented in *Ancient Maya Women* because it demonstrates that meaningful conclusions about the dynamics of gender relations in Maya culture may be drawn from detailed studies of one site or one area within an ancient city. Hendon has continued to refine her analysis of gender dynamics in relation to production with a recent study of how cloth manufacture by women intersected with status and gender to create a gender-specific prestige structure (1999).

Also in 1997, a number of important contributions to understanding the lives of ancient Maya women came from physical anthropological studies of osteological collections. William Haviland (1997) published a summary of his research on the extensive skeletal material from Tikal; Marie Elaine Danforth, Keith Jacobi, and Mark Nathan Cohen (1997) published a similar study of the osteological data from the protocolonial site of Tipu; and an important edited volume entitled *Bones of the Maya,* containing many contributions that touch on differences in health or diet between the genders, appeared (Whittington and Reed 1997). Although all these studies differ somewhat in their analyses, the first two articles look specifically at gender as a factor and thus make a significant contribution to our understanding of ancient social dynamics. These publications have ignited a debate about the relationship between gender and health, but in general the osteological studies have confirmed that the health and diet of women and men were unequal, that this inequality increased as the state became more complex, and that often women, especially female children, seem to have had less access to available resources. John P. Gerry and Meredith S. Chesson contest this conclusion in a recent study (2000).

In recent years the attention paid to gender in ancient Maya society has greatly increased. Although there are still very few archaeologists or art historians designing specifically engendered research programs, many scholars have reevaluated already existing data sets from an engendered perspective or have attempted to supplement the small body of data on ancient Maya women with new decipherments or analyses. The works of David Freidel and Linda Schele (Freidel and Schele 1997; Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993; Schele and Freidel 1990) stand out as narratives that give royal women full agency and control of historical movements. Karl Taube (1992, 1994), Susan Milbrath (1995, 1996, 1999), and Mary Ciaramella (1994, 1999) have all contributed analyses of female deities as portrayed in Maya ceramic and codical art, thereby expanding our understanding of ancient perceptions of female supernatural power. Epigraphers Simon Martin (1999; Martin and Grube 2000), Nikolai Grube (Grube and Simon 2000), and Erika Hewitt (1999) have all expanded our understanding of royal Maya queens with recent decipherments and expositions on royal power. Conjunctive research on artistic, epigraphic, and cultural anthropological data by Carolyn Tate (1999) and Joel Palka (1999) has explored the cosmological basis for male and female complementarity and its manifestations in Maya political propaganda.

This brings us to *Ancient Maya Women* and the engendered research of a group of young scholars, many of whom are publishing new data for the first time in this volume. The contributors share a commitment to a diversity of interpretations of gender and how it functioned in ancient Maya society. We hope that, by broadening the dialogue and adding new voices as well as important new data to the discussions already under way about women and men in the Maya past, we will contribute to a fuller and more nuanced understanding of how individuals experience, shape, and re-create the cultures in which they live. In no sense will *Ancient Maya Women* be the final statement on gender or even on women in Maya society—in fact, we anxiously await future collaboration in response to the interest that we hope this work will stimulate.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank certain mentors in the field of Maya archaeology who have always supported my interest in gender, even when it was not fashionable. From the beginning, Anthony P. Andrews, Michael D. Coe, Mary Ellen Miller, and David A. Freidel and, more recently, Karl Taube and Wendy Ashmore have all provided constructive criticism as well as inspiration. The original participants in the session "Grandmothers of Light: New Research on Ancient Maya Women" organized for the American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in Philadelphia as well as the final participants in this volume all deserve thanks for the productive atmosphere in which we have shared data and collaborated for the last two years. Sarah Nelson and Mitch Allen at AltaMira Press have been kind and wise guides through the publication process. Jeanne L. Randall provided the lovely cover photograph. Karla Cardona did a translation on very short notice. My crew and colleagues on the Pakbeh Archaeological Project, especially Travis Stanton, Scott Hutson, Tara Bond-Freeman, Aline Magnoni, and Eugenia Mansell, have been understanding and supportive during the final stages. Finally, my family and especially my own grandmothers of light, Helen Schlies Ardren and Marjorie Lambert Risser, provide loving role models of women of power.

2

Gender and Maya Farming: Chan Nòohol, Belize

CYNTHIA ROBIN

ANTHROPOLOGICAL UNDERSTANDINGS of gender, agriculture, and change are deeply entwined with debates over biology and culture, sex and gender, universal and historical/contextual explanations. This chapter confronts these debates by addressing persistent issues surrounding the use of ethnographic analogy in archaeology. I compare contemporary and Classic period (250–900 C.E.) Maya gender relations and farming technologies in order to further an archaeological assessment of gender relations in the Late Classic (660–790 C.E.) Maya farming community of Chan Nòohol, Belize.

The comparison of past and present farming in the Maya area will indicate that the technologies and social relations of Maya farming are variable throughout time and space. This should not be surprising because studies of contemporary and ancient Maya agriculture indicate that the Maya managed a complex mosaic of agricultural regimes (e.g., Atran 1993; Fedick 1996; Hammond 1978; Turner 1978). Technologies always involve not only relations among material things but also relations among people, their actions, and their worldviews (Dobres 2000).

The variability in engendered farming practices and ideologies described in this chapter do contradict the conventionally accepted timeless narrative of "man-the-farmer" in the Maya area. Thus, the analysis necessitates that we question how the singular narrative of man-the-farmer in the Maya area was constructed. I will demonstrate that ancient Maya studies of gender and farming have been plagued by the overextended use of ethnographic analogy to contemporary Yucatec farming that initially plagued the study of ancient Maya agricultural technology. Prior to the 1960s archaeologists used ethnographic analogy to contemporary Yucatec swidden farming to determine the nature of Classic period farming. They sought this analogy because they lacked Classic period archaeological evidence for agricultural technologies. Because swidden farming cannot support high populations, Classic Maya society was deemed a "Vacant Ceremonial Center" society supporting low populations. As archaeologists began to collect comparable evidence for Classic period agriculture (e.g., formal agricultural constructions, chemical signatures for fields), they found—conversely—that much of Classic Maya agriculture was intensive agriculture (hill-slope terraces, cross-channel terraces, raised fields, and forest gardens; e.g., Fedick 1996; Hammond 1978; Turner 1978).

Since its inception, feminist archaeology has taken up the challenge of scrutinizing the relationship between the past and the present. Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector ignited the archaeological study of gender in 1984 by mandating that archaeologists break down their implicit reliance on using contemporary gender stereotypes in engendering the past. This mandate placed feminist archaeologies at the fore of research that addresses the key issue of ethnographic analogy and archaeology.

Any historical analysis must address issues of analogy and comparison. Researchers dealing with long time spans are confronted with different data sets for the various time periods they assess (e.g., human behavior versus the material outcomes of human behavior). This study also addresses methodological issues of comparing data sets across time periods. The degree to which we can infer from or make comparisons between contemporary and archaeological time periods relates to the degree to which we can collect and analyze *analogous* data sets from those periods. Analysts need to determine "specific consequences or correlates associated" with attributes we may wish to compare (Wylie 1985: 106), or their analyses will be subject to "the tyranny of the ethnographic record" (Wobst 1978).

Background Studies on Gender and Farming

Analyses of gender and farming were influential as 1970s cultural anthropologists began to cultivate a space for the long-neglected study of gender (see reviews in Guyer 1988, 1991). In her classic work *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), Esther Boserup breaks the man-the-farmer mold by illustrating that women are the primary farmers in much of contemporary Africa. Boserup draws on her previous research (1966), which correlates the evolution of intensive agriculture with population increases, to argue the possibility that contemporary female farming in Africa is a historical remnant of a previous time when women dominated agricultural work. Women's primordial association with agricultural work had been extinguished elsewhere because of rising populations and the development of intensive agricultural regimes linked to male farmers.

Cross-cultural sexual division of labor studies of the 1970s and early 1980s continued investigating the relationship between sex differences and agricultural labor (e.g., Brown 1970; Burton, Brudner, and White 1977; Burton, White, and Dow 1982; Ember 1983; Murdock and Provost 1973). These studies largely confirm Boserup's proposal: farming was predominantly male work in societies with high populations and intensive agricultural regimes. Otherwise, farming was largely female work. Biological differences between men and women initially provided a possible explanation for these cross-cultural differences. Although men are biologically free from reproduction postcoitus, women's biological roles in reproduction—pregnancy, lactation, and thus child care—restricted them to tasks around the home (Ember 1983: 287).

Throughout the 1980s, as researchers began to accumulate large cross-cultural databases, regional differences in sex roles and agricultural work became apparent. Because the roles of men and women differed by region, researchers switched their attention from sex to gender studies, whereby they defined gender as the socially constructed interpretation of biological sex (this literature is reviewed in Mukhopadhyay and Higgins 1988). The cultural variability uncovered in both sexual and gender division of labor studies suggested that culture, economy, and society, more than biology, constrained men and women in agricultural work. Specifically in terms of agricultural intensification, researchers found that there were many types of agricultural intensification and multiple historical trajectories to intensification. As these technologies and historical developments were associated with a variety of gender–work relations, scholars interested in gender and agricultural work had to reconsider the universalist proposals of Boserup and Ember (e.g., Burton and White 1984: 579; Dow 1985: 150; Guyer 1988: 252).

By abstracting a cultural gender from a biological sex, gender division of labor studies maintained a gender/sex dichotomy that allowed scholars to scrutinize and advance the study of gender as a cultural construct, without necessarily addressing the relationship between biology and culture (Butler 1990, 1993). Anthropology has learned from sexual and gender division of labor studies that constructions of sex and gender both matter (Du 2000).

Regardless of our stand on the relative inputs of biology and culture in human social life, some early sexual division of labor research "slipped into the pitfalls of biological determinism by excluding childcare rearing from the tasks to be examined in relation to sex" while assuming child care to be the cause of difference (Du 2000: 521; e.g., Murdock and Provost 1973). In "The Raw, the Cooked, and the Half-Baked: A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex" (1981), Jane Guyer calls on anthropologists to scrutinize why they carefully apply scientific methods to determine what work is done by each sex but do not apply the same scientific rigor to their assessment that the resultant sex–work differences are due to women's biologically based roles in child care.

For example, in contemporary northern Lacandon Maya communities in Chiapas, Mexico, ethnographers report that child care is shared by men, women, and children and that women's roles do not dramatically change during periods of pregnancy and child rearing (e.g., Boremanse 1998; McGee 1990). But in some contemporary Yucatec Maya communities in Mexico, women's work roles do change during early child-rearing years (see Neff, this volume; for a contrasting Yucatec case, see Jordan 1980). Neither universal female biology nor some universal "Maya culture" can explain these two situations.

In contemporary Yucatán children attend school. Where Instituto National de Indigenas schools exist, these schools have reduced school hours precisely because schooling deprives the household of an important labor source—children (S. Gaskins, personal communication, 21 April 2000). In the northern Lacandon area few children attend school, and children of all ages participate in the work of the household, including child care (Boremanse 1998; McGee 1990). Throughout the Maya area, institutionalized schooling has had an effect on gender– and age–work relationships because children represent a large portion of the workforce but have been removed from it to attend school (see below; Palerm 1967). As this comparison indicates, gender–work relations must be contextualized in terms of other social, political, and economic aspects of people's lives. While schooling is but one context of ordinary life (see below for other details), this comparison does illustrate that we cannot separate out a "gender–work sphere" from other aspects of social life. The schooling example also indicates that where schooling was not institutionalized in archaeological times, researchers must take this absence in account when comparing their archaeological cases to contemporary cases where schooling is present.

With similar questions in mind, a decade ago Guyer (1988, 1991) opened a new discourse on sex/gender in studies of agriculture through her historical investigation of Beti farmers in southern Cameroon. Her work on Beti farming critiques the notion that Africa's female farmers are "living proof" of women's primordial sexual status (Guyer 1991: 257–59). The intriguing twist revealed by Guyer's studies is her finding that from colonial to postcolonial times female farming increased among the Beti. Contemporary Beti female farmers do not represent a primordial farming form. Female farming is a relatively recent innovation developing within historically situated systems of agricultural knowledge and practice. Examining the history and contexts of Beti farming proved to be an effective means to move beyond the pitfalls of overly biological, cultural, or evolutionary models of sex/gender and agriculture.

Previous studies of gender and agriculture have posited the following scenarios: (1) gender–farming relations remain constant through time, (2) contemporary female farming develops from earlier male farming regimes, (3) contemporary male farming develops from earlier female farming regimes, and (4) gender–farming relations vary historically and contextually. Given this diversity of plausible scenarios, researchers must assess, not assume, particular developments from regional data. To compare contemporary and pre-Columbian Maya farming we must assess how people who were farmers lived, constructed, and transformed the world around them. It must be more than a study of sex/gender and labor. Maya farmers were members of particular socioeconomic groups, they developed a range of agricultural and other technologies, they lived in different local communities and environmental settings, and they variably participated in regional and global networks.

Methodology

As in cultural anthropology, division of labor studies were influential in the founding and development of gender studies in archaeology and have been the focus of criticism (e.g., Gilchrist 1999; Meskell 1999; Nelson 1997). In a recent *American Anthropologist* article, Du (2000) draws attention to the problematic focus on the concept of "division" in sex/gender division of labor studies. As Du points out, early cross-cultural sexual division of labor studies indicate that *few* tasks were divided by sex and *many* tasks (over two-thirds in Murdock and Provost's 1973 study) were undertaken by both sexes to varying degrees.

Archaeologists' questions about the "division" in division of labor studies mirror those of cultural anthropologists. Assuming a universal sex/gender "division" of labor would imply that work and its associated tools and spaces always and everywhere were linked to a separation of sex/gender (e.g., Bruhns 1991; Guyer 1988; Pyburn 1999). Such divisions do not always exist in contemporary or ancient societies (e.g., Joyce 1996b; Kent 1999; Kopytoff 1990; Wright 1991). Thus, we should question, Were "all activities, locations, and artifacts allocated to a particular gender? Where is there comparability, overlap, or flexibility in gender roles?" (Nelson 1997: 55). Where divisions of labor do exist, these divisions are created and replicated in practice and do not preexist and then condition the social production of gender, sex, work, or other social relations

(Joyce and Claassen 1997). Concepts of a male/female division of labor may also cloud researchers' abilities to recognize categories other than male or female; this seems to have been the case in figuring out the identity of the Classic Maya corn deity (see below; Looper, this volume). As will also be shown through the Maya case, it is impossible to only study what people do (gender division of labor/gender attribution) without simultaneously studying how people conceptualize gender (gender ideals) and vice versa.

In some cases, the absence of archaeological evidence for strong sex/gender-divided tasks may indicate that discrete sex/gender divisions simply may not have existed. This scenario may account for the difficulties that many archaeologists have had when trying to reconstruct divisions of labor from ancient data. Archaeologists need to scrutinize when an absence of archaeological data (for a sex/gender division of labor or anything else) indicates an *absence* of the phenomenon (no division of labor for that activity) or when it represents *missing* data that need to be filled in through analogical references to other time periods or places (to find the division of labor for that activity). In the Maya case, while agricultural labor is at the core of defining a contemporary division of labor between men and women in some areas, I will argue that agricultural labor did not characterize male and female difference in the Classic period.

Guyer (1988) makes an additional methodological point in reference to the use of division of labor studies in historical research. Ethnographers use time allocation studies as a primary measure to determine whether or not a division of labor exists in a contemporary setting. Time allocation studies quantify the amounts of time that various people spend on different tasks to determine if those tasks are linked to particular categories of people. Setting aside Guyer's critique that the importance we attribute to the amount of time spent on a task may not always carry similar weight in determining how other people define the importance of tasks, the amount of time that a person spends on a task is typically inaccessible information in historical and archaeological time periods. Utilizing contemporary time allocation studies as a comparative basis for studies of historical depth once again leaves historians and archaeologists in the tyranny of the ethnographic record because there are few or no comparable source-side data sets on time allocation in historical or archaeological contexts (see discussion below about the comparative potential of determining relative, rather than absolute, time expenditures on tasks).

To avoid the tyranny of the ethnographic record, archaeologists must compare and contrast complementary source-side and analogy-side data sets (Wylie 1985). Two data sets have substantial comparable material across Maya ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological sources. These are (1) accounts/depictions of idealized roles and relations and (2) spatial distributions of work practices. Idealized gender roles and relations are comparably documentable in artistic media that present standardized images of male and female bodies and in texts that are written in all periods (and spoken orally in the contemporary period). Spatial distributions of work practices are typical data recorded by ethnographers and historians, as well as being key elements of archaeological analyses.

Maya Farmers Past and Present

In the following analysis I compare farming ideals and spatial practices in the contemporary and Classic (250–900 C.E.) periods. This review ends with a contextual assessment of the dynamics of farmwork at the Late Classic period (660–790 C.E.) farming settlement of Chan Nòohol, Belize. For the contemporary period I present examples from the Yucatec and northern Chiapas–Lacandon areas of Mexico to compare and contrast variability in gender and farming relations. These two cases fall at the end points of the range and variation observable ethnographically. I have utilized these cases as a heuristic device to illustrate this variability, but I do not mean to imply that there are only two types of contemporary Maya farming practices. A more comprehensive analysis of this variability is under way.

Contemporary Farmers (1900–Present)

The primary mode of agricultural production in Yucatán throughout the later twentieth century involved the cash monocropping of corn in extensive swidden fields. The swidden cycle involves clearing land with axes and machetes, burning, planting, weeding, and finally harvesting corn. The next year the cycle begins again, with clearing and burning an integral starting point of each cycle. Because nutrients are rapidly depleted from land farmed in this way, after a few years swidden fields must be left fallow and new fields must be planted. Swidden farming requires a great deal of land, and swidden fields often must be located beyond community limits, at distances that average four to nine kilometers but may be as distant as twenty-five kilometers.[1] Orchards/gardens within house lots complement this far-field swidden system. Together, extensive swidden fields and orchards/gardens can be described as an infield–outfield system (e.g., Elmendorf 1976; Ewell and Merrill-Sands 1987; Gaskins 1999, n.d.; Hanks 1990; Kintz 1990; Kray 1997; Lucy 1990, 1992; Palerm 1967; Press 1975; Re Cruz 1996; Redfield 1941, 1950; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934; Robin 1999; Steggerda 1941; Villa Rojas 1969; also see Neff, this volume).

Yucatec rituals and proverbs define corn farming as an ideal of masculinity. The central activities that are invoked to represent the masculinity of corn farming are cutting trees, burning fields, and planting corn seeds (Hanks 1990; Re Cruz 1996; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934). Ritual incantations praise women as those who cook and men as those who farm. This idealized division between men's farmwork and women's food processing is one of complementarity whereby food production and food processing are seen as integral parts of the same production process (Hendon 1999; Joyce 1992b, 1996a; Re Cruz 1996). Being a corn farmer is such an important aspect of ideal manhood that when a woman in a community neighboring Chan Kom made her own cornfield, Chan Kom residents found this quite suspect (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934: 68).

In agricultural practice in Yucatán, men exclusively cut and burn swidden fields. In the discontinuous process of extensive swidden cultivation, these exclusively male activities are symbolically and temporally significant tasks that initiate each new agricultural cycle. All together, men tend to do more work in the various agricultural tasks that constitute far-field cultivation than women do. Women do participate, although not equally, in planting, weeding, and harvesting activities even in far fields. Women's input in later stages of swidden production is necessary for completing the production process (Hanks 1990; Palerm 1967; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934; Robin 1999). Where swidden fields are located over a day's walk from the home, men will go to these fields for periods of time, leaving the rest of the family at home (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934; Steggerda 1941).

The predominance of male work over female work in the agricultural process is reversed in Yucatec house-lot orchards/gardens. Although men initially clear and construct house-lot orchards/gardens, women or men may plant them, and women usually tend them (Elmendorf 1976; Hanks 1990; Kintz 1990; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934; Robin 1999). In the intensive maintenance of orchards/gardens, the initial male-linked role of clearing provides a smaller proportion of the work over the long term, as these areas are under continuous or near continuous cultivation. Still, men's initial input is needed to clear the land.

The ethnographic present of Yucatec farming is far from static. New markets, such as the thriving tourist center of Cancun, have opened in the past few decades, and new government incentives are promoting the development of intensive small fixed-plot irrigated fields located on the outskirts of communities. These fields are being farmed with greater collaborative efforts between women and men (Gaskins n.d.).

Nor is the Yucatec present without a history. The nucleated organization of contemporary Yucatec communities and the distant location of fields on community-owned lands (called *ejido* lands) redeveloped throughout the twentieth century. After the Mexican Revolution, the government agreed to grant land to indigenous "communities." To claim their rightful lands, farmers who had been living in more dispersed *rancherías* (farmsteads) had to move into and form *pueblos* (villages). The lands that the government allotted for village land and for farmland might be quite distant (Farriss 1984; Re Cruz 1996; Redfield 1941, 1950; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934).

In the early parts of the twentieth century, staking claims to *ejido* lands was critical in indigenous politics. Also, farm produce was the most important economic resource for the farming family (Re Cruz 1996). Even when farmlands were quite far from village homes, entire farming families (men, women, and children) would relocate to these fields during periods of farmwork because it required "the involvement of all members in the family unit" (Re Cruz 1996: 89). In Yucatán today, farmers have multiple sources of income beyond farm produce. Many of these are more lucrative than farmwork. The most lucrative jobs often require an education, so parents want their children to attend school all year round. As noted above, today where agricultural fields are quite distant from home and school, mothers will remain in the community with their school-aged children while male farmers work alone in fields.

In contrast to the dominant mode of agricultural production in Yucatán, the northern Lacandon Maya of Chiapas utilize a more intensive fixed-plot swidden system that combines monocropping, multicropping, fallow field production, orchard production, and forest management to maintain soil nutrients (Atran 1993; Boremanse 1998; McGee 1990; Nations and Nigh 1980; Perera and Bruce 1982; Wilk 1990). In such intensively managed agroforest production regimes there are no clear demarcations between near and far fields (as in the infield–outfield system), for agricultural production is marked by temporally and spatially continuous usages (Nations and Nigh 1980). Lacandon communities are among the few Maya groups that do not produce corn as a cash crop (Wilk 1990).

Until the 1970s Lacandon communities comprised dispersed farmsteads, where families lived in the midst of their fields. In the 1970s the Mexican government began assigning land to Lacandon "communities" ostensibly to preserve Lacandon lands from influxes of outsiders. Lacandon communities are beginning to cluster into households located fifty to several hundred meters apart (Boremanse 1998). Current house-to-field distances have not been well recorded, but one map depicts a far field that is a one-kilometer canoe ride and a half-kilometer walk from the owner's house (Perera and Bruce 1982: 45).

In the northern Lacandon area, as an ideal, farming is the work of men and women. People commonly say that a woman is lazy if she does not go to the fields. In practice, men, women, and children tend to work collaboratively on all agricultural tasks, including clearing and burning fields. There is only one time when men exclusively work in fields, and this is when they first go into primary forest to fell trees for a new field. Given the intensive nature of Lacandon swidden production, this activity makes up only a minor part of the agricultural process over the long term (Boremanse 1998; McGee 1990).

Few Lacandon children attend school. Parents are their primary teachers, and child care is undertaken by both adults and children. Women carry babies by a forehead/shoulder strap during their daily activities, and babies are breast-fed on demand. Women typically work more hours per day than men. Pregnancy and young children do not deter northern Lacandon women from this. Boremanse describes a woman, "who was about eight months pregnant, [who] would still go to the field with the others, carry a heavy net bag of corn on her back as well as her one-year-old boy, and paddle her way across the lake" (1998: 41). All together, the decreased distances between houses and fields in the Lacandon area, the lack of schooling for children, and the importance of agricultural produce for household economies allow for greater collaborative work in fields and homes by all family members.

As "isolated" as we may be inclined to depict the contemporary Lacandon, they are not the static and timeless peasantry of structural-functional anthropological narratives. The most recent Lacandon ethnographies emphasize twentieth-century incursions of other Maya groups, Mexican governmental policies, and Euro-American environmentalists and anthropologists (e.g., Boremanse 1998; McGee 1990). Furthermore, the Lacandon have been in contact with such outsiders since the colonial period (Palka 1998). Boremanse draws particular attention to changing attitudes about femininity and dress in the Lacandon area today. He suggests that these changing attitudes are due to Lacandon women's desires to adopt Western styles of femininity. Along with changing notions of femininity and dress, Lacandon women are now beginning to question their need to go out and do farmwork, work that they see as challenging new ideals of femininity.

SUMMARY. Just from the Yucatec and Lacandon cases, it is not surprising that Palerm's 1967 cross-regional study in the *Handbook of the Middle American Indians* concludes that there is no uniform gender division of agricultural labor across the Maya area. There is greater difference and variability in the gender relations of farming both in practice and as a social ideal than is represented by the contemporary Yucatec swidden case. Despite these differences, most ethnographers note that the final agricultural product is always created as and conceived as being the product of male and female labor.

Recognizing that I risk overdichotomizing the variability noted above, I identify two broad modes of gender–agricultural work relations in the Yucatec and Lacandon cases. For the later part of the twentieth century in Yucatán, agricultural labor has been ideally male work and complementary in practice, that is, men and women tend to perform different but complementary tasks in the agricultural process. Overall, men perform more agricultural work than women, and children perform much less agricultural work than adults because they attend school. In the contemporary northern Lacandon case and the early-twentieth-century Yucatec case, agricultural labor is and was ideally male and female work and collaborative in practice, that is, men, women, and children have tended to perform many similar tasks together.[2]

There is no reason to privilege either of these two models and the diversity they contain as more basically Maya. Both are the products of Maya people, people who participate in the socioeconomic and political world around them. So which of these scenarios, or the scenarios of other contemporary Maya farmers not discussed here, do we select as an analogy for Classic Maya farmers? As the differences in the Yucatec and Lacandon cases indicate, the selection of an appropriate analogy cannot simply rely on delineating genetic or cultural linkages between two groups of people. Appropriate analogies must be based on "multiple lines of evidence" that include data from social, political, economic, and ritual domains of life (genetic and cultural linkages should be aspects of these multiple lines of evidence; Wylie 1985, 1992). Also, in seeking analogies we need to look for the differences as well as the similarities between the two cases we are comparing because documenting differences is as important as documenting similarities in determining the appropriateness of an analogy (Marcus 1995; Marcus and Flannery 1994).

Classic Farmers (250–900 C.E.)

The entry into Classic period farming practices comes from spatial data for agricultural and domestic work. Classic period settlements were relatively dispersed but urban, and agricultural areas were often situated within or near communities (Drennan 1988; Freidel 1981; Netting 1977; Smyth, Dore, and Dunning 1995).[3] Research on Classic period agricultural systems shows that intensive agricultural regimes, hill-slope terraces, cross-channel terraces, and raised fields were the primary components of Classic agriculture (e.g., Dunning and Beach 1994; Fedick 1994; Harrison and Turner 1978; Neff n.d.; Turner 1983; Walling 1993). These intensive systems manipulated small fixed tracts of land to produce higher yields, allowing intensive far fields to be located nearer to houses than would be the case for extensive far fields. Based on regional settlement survey data, extensive outfields may not have existed in many regions during the Classic period, as dispersed settlements are continuous across arable lands, leaving no uninhabited or unfarmed land for such fields. Within these densely settled areas during the Classic period, intensively managed far fields were located up to two kilometers from people's houses (Killion et al. 1991; McAnany 1992b, 1995: 74; Turner 1992: 270).[4] Chemical studies of fields, paleoethnobotanicals, and dietary data combine to suggest that Classic period agriculture comprised a complex multicrop agroforest regime (Lentz 1991; Marcus 1982; Robin 1999; Smyth, Dore, and Dunning 1995; Whittington and Reed 1997).

Given the importance of farming in agricultural societies such as the Classic Maya, it may at first seem perplexing that there are no Classic period images of people farming. The absence of farming in monumental images of ruling elites seems explicable in context—these images omit productive activities altogether (Hendon 1997; Joyce 1993). It is not as easy to explain the absence of farming images from other social contexts. Figurines and painted ceramics from these contexts do show people working, and farming was a primary aspect of work for most people, elites and commoners. Figurines and painted ceramics portray men as warriors, hunters, and musicians and women as weavers and food preparers (Joyce 1993, 1996a). Agriculture does not appear in the repertoire of important social actions separating male from female. The archaeologist must ask, Is this absence in the data needed to suggest that, as an ideal, male and female work in agriculture was not conceived as divided? Or is this absence the mark of missing data, gender–task linkages that were not encoded in figural data, such that we must look further afield for an analogy to determine the gender division in Classic period farmwork? This is no easy question, but the answer lies in looking for multiple sources (Wylie 1992) of Classic period data on the topic of gender and farming to compare with the aforementioned absence.

Although no Classic period people are portrayed as farmers, there are numerous depictions of a corn deity. Identifying the sex/gender of this deity has been problematic throughout the history of Maya research, for the corn deity has both a male upper body—a bare chest without breasts—and a female lower body—it wears the female net skirt costume (Taube 1985, 1989a). Around the turn of the century, some authors identified the corn deity as a female because of its fine facial and bodily features (Förstemann 1906: 60), while others identified it as male (Schellhas 1904). Scholars after Förstemann have argued that the corn deity was a young male whose youth accounted for his feminine bodily features and dress (Taube 1985). Over the past few years scholars have reassessed the gender of the corn deity, identifying it as a dual-gendered, ambiguously gendered, or androgynous being or as two deities, one male and one female (Bassie-Sweet n.d.;

Joyce 1996b, 2000a, 2000c; Tate 1999; also see Looper, this volume). Indeed, the androgyny of the corn deity could be a representation of knowledgeable agricultural practices, as the corn plant is itself androgynous. As in the representation of the Classic period corn deity, the male organs of the corn plant (the tassels) are on the upper part of the plant and the female organs (the ear and silks) are on the lower part of the plant.[5]

The corn deity embodies features that otherwise conventionally separate male from female in ancient Maya representations. If the corn deity also represents the ideal Maya farmer, then this ideal farmer's image seems to have encompassed gender duality. This interpretation is compatible with the absence of farmwork in Classic period images that distinguish males from females. Additionally, both male and female elites don the wardrobe of the corn deity to symbolize their divine power (Joyce 1996a; A. Stone 1991). All idealized depictions of corn production, or the power derived from corn production, highlight dual and collaborative rather than either/or assignments of gender.

SUMMARY. Classic Maya agriculture is certainly distinctive from any form of swidden production practiced in the contemporary Maya area. Although there is no technological parallel for Classic period intensive farming in the contemporary period, in terms of distance between fields and homes, continuous usage of fields, and varieties of crops, the Classic period case is most similar to the contemporary northern Lacandon case.

Alongside the distinctive nature of Classic period farming technologies, idealized representations of gender and farming relations are distinctive as well. In the dominant contemporary Yucatec case, corn is ideally associated with male work. In the Classic period, neither corn nor farming was used to depict male and female difference.

Engendering the Lives of Farmers: Spatial Practice at Chan Nòohol, Belize

Beyond these generalizations about Classic Maya farming technologies and idealized notions of gender and farming relations, we can examine material and spatial data from the archaeological contexts of farmers' homes and fields to reconstruct the practices, interrelations, and experiences of Classic Maya farmers. The archaeological case study of Chan Nòohol, Belize, illustrates everyday life in one farming community.

The single-phase Late Classic farming settlement of Chan Nòohol is located in the hinterlands of the civic center of Xunantunich, Belize (figure 2.1). Chan

Nòohol comprised seven discrete farmsteads (in figure 2.1, farmsteads are labeled CN1–CN7). Each farmstead contained one to two houses and sometimes other ancillary buildings and was associated with one–three sets of low hill-slope agricultural terraces. Terraces were located between twenty and sixty meters from houses. These intercommunity agricultural areas were the primary focus of residents' agricultural production, and agricultural produce was the only product, beyond labor itself, exported from the settlement. Chan Nòohol's terraces were hill-slope terraces, the most common terrace type found in the Xunantunich region. In one settlement with deeply undulating terrain, Dos Chombitos, examples of a second terrace type, cross-channel terraces, have been found in addition to hill-slope terraces (see Neff, this volume). Throughout the Xunantunich hinterlands hill-slope and cross-channel terraces have been identified up to 200 meters distant from the mounded remains of ancient buildings.

Between 1996 and 1997, I conducted areal-exposure excavations and

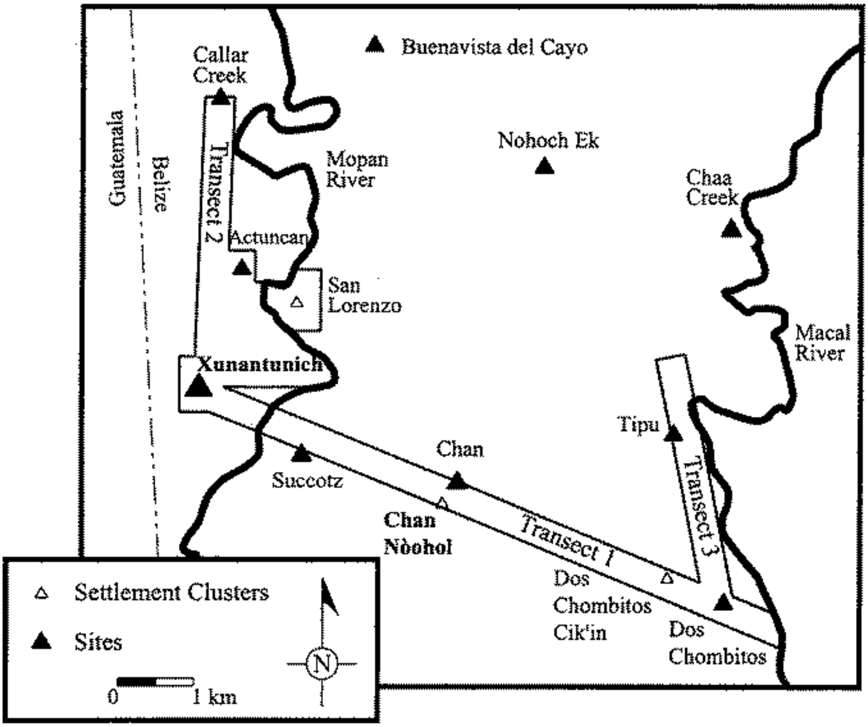

Callar Creek
Buenavista del Cayo
Guatemala
Belize
Transect 2
Mopan River
Nohoch Ek
Chaa Creek
Actuncan
San Lorenzo
Macal River
Xunantunich
Tipu
Chan
Succotz
Transect 3
Chan Nòohol
Transect 1
Dos Chombitos Cik'in
Dos Chombitos
△ Settlement Clusters
▲ Sites
0
1 km
N

Figure 2.1. Xunantunich and its hinterlands showing the settlements of Chan Nòohol and Dos Chombitos (settlements mentioned in this chapter and in chapter 3).

collected soil chemical and paleoethnobotanical data at Chan Nòohol. I undertook this work under the auspices of the Xunantunich archaeological project codirected by Wendy Ashmore and Richard Leventhal. A guiding point of my research was to document the everyday lives of Chan Nòohol farmers (Ashmore, Yaeger, and Robin n.d.; Robin 1999, 2001).

At Chan Nòohol, artifact inventories from each farmstead indicate that the same set of basic domestic and agricultural tasks was conducted at each farmstead. Beyond agriculture, the primary productive activities at Chan Nòohol's farmsteads were food preparation, spinning, and tool making (activities undertaken for household provisioning). As noted above, there are extensive Classic period data suggesting that, at least as an ideal, women prepared food and wove. The cooking technology at Chan Nòohol, as with most other Classic Maya communities, was quite different from the time-consuming making of corn tortillas prevalent in Maya communities from Postclassic periods onward (Graham 1991). At Chan Nòohol, people cooked in large open bowls, most likely preparing soups and gruels. As these meals would have been relatively less time consuming to prepare than tortillas prepared on *comales,* Chan Nòohol's food preparers would have had more time for other daily activities (Blanton et al. 1981; Brumfiel 1991). It is plausible that men, women, and children made and used stone tools at Chan Nòohol because there are no gender-linked images of people making and using tools in the Classic period and stone implements have been found with male, female, and juvenile interments from the Classic period (Welsh 1988; Gero 1991 on gender and stone tool production).

Although there were few constructions at Chan Nòohol except houses and terraces, identification of distinctive artifact, ecofact, and soil chemistry signatures allowed me to define four activity areas in outdoor spaces (Robin 1998, 1999). As seen in figure 2.2, these were domestic work areas, pathways, refuse areas, and agricultural work areas. Residents prepared food and made stone tools on domestic work surfaces and in ancillary structures, but I do not know where spinning and weaving occurred because the artifactual evidence for these activities was only recovered from refuse deposits.

The agricultural and domestic work spaces at Chan Nòohol were clearly spatially commingled. Farmers had transformed the land into a productive agricultural landscape through terrace construction and fertilization, which is evidenced by elevated phosphorous levels. Findings of corn glumes in a terrace bed surface at farmstead CN6 suggest that at least this terrace was used for growing corn. Paleoethnobotanical remains of staple crops, wild and cultivated fruit trees, wild fruits, and wild grasses indicate a range of wild and cultivated plant species that would have been part of a diversified multicomponent agricultural system.[6]

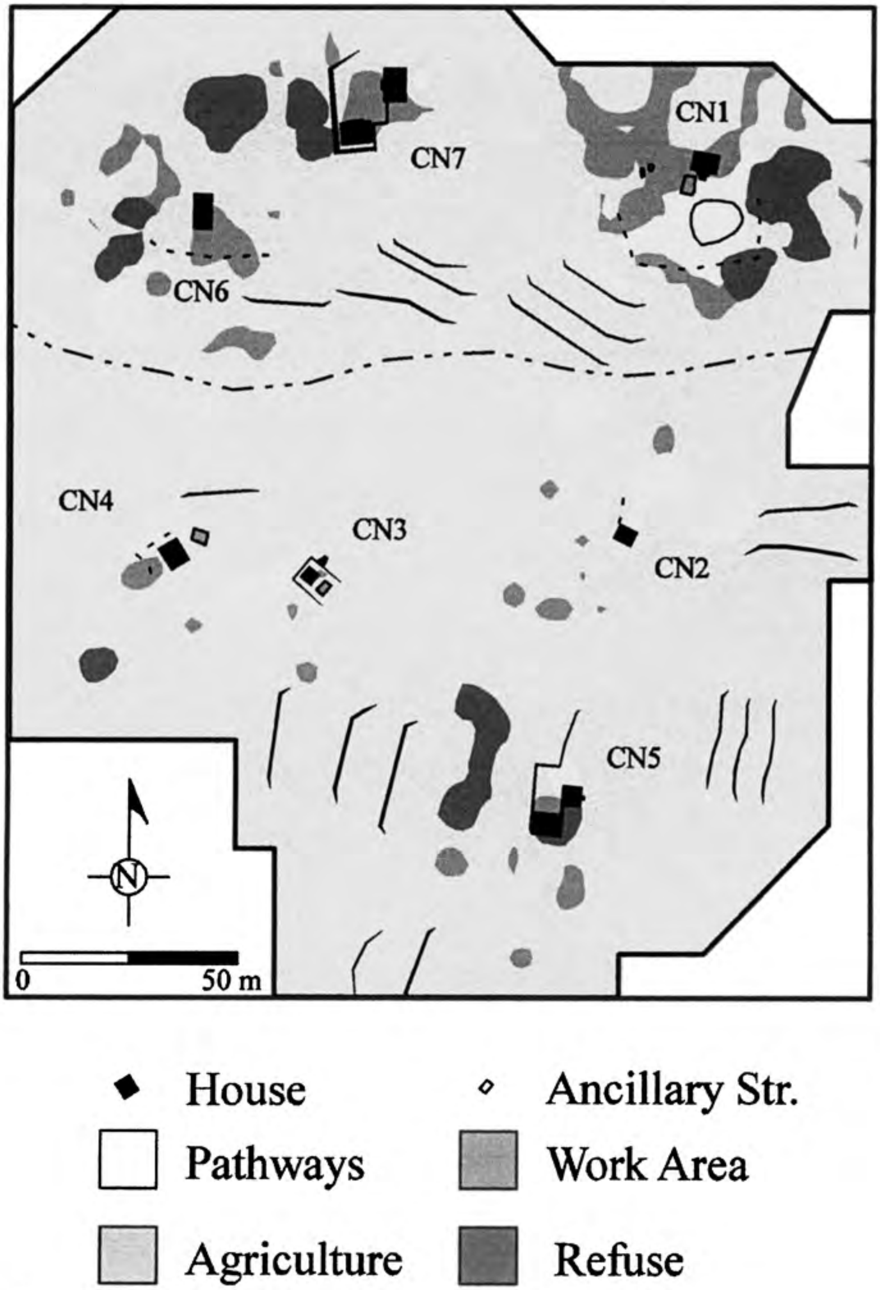

CN7
CN1
CN6
CN4
CN3
CN2
CN5
N
0
50 m
House
Ancillary Str.
Pathways
Work Area
Agriculture
Refuse

Figure 2.2. The farming settlement of Chan Nòohol.

Based on the foregoing analysis of the technology, crops, and spatial distributions of Chan Nòohol's fields and evidence about the Classic period farming ideal, I suggest that, at least as an ideal, men, women, and children participated collaboratively in many aspects of farming at Chan Nòohol. Given the absence of schooling, the location of fields, the primacy of agricultural work, and women's relatively lesser time commitment in cooking, the practical work of farming could have been collaborative as well. Regardless—beyond these statements about ideals and plausible practices—we can use spatial data to gain further insight into engendered everyday interactions, interrelations, and experiences at Chan Nòohol.

The spatial data on activity areas at Chan Nòohol indicate that people who were making tools and people who were preparing food were doing these activities in the same space, regardless of whether or not they were the same or different people or whether they were working there simultaneously or sequentially. Similarly, people who were involved in agriculture were able to see, talk, or call to people who were preparing food and making stone tools. As domestic and agricultural activities were largely undertaken in outside spaces, this allowed communication between persons working on these activities.

At times, the gender– and age–work relations in particular spaces may have looked quite different at Chan Nòohol. For instance, when people were working together on a harvest, gender- and age-related work was likely harmonized together in space (e.g., a field), but at other times, when women were at work cooking and men were at work on some other task, people's work would have been differentially situated in space. The majority of work took place in spaces that were neither divided by great distances nor rigidly enclosed (even when they were undertaken in "enclosed" buildings, Chan Nòohol's buildings had pole walls that would have allowed people immediately inside or outside the structure to peer or talk through).[7] People's similar or different daily work was coordinated in space in such a way that could facilitate interaction and communication rather than separation. Throughout the day, the interrelatedness of people's work and lives would have been visible. The spatial and social commingling of agricultural and domestic work at Chan Nòohol promoted situated experiences in which work around the house would likely have been domestic and nondomestic, male and female, old and young. These living and working practices would have fostered experiences of human relations as collaborative or integrative unifications of difference.

Conclusion

The social organization of Maya farming has varied through time and space related to the mosaic of agricultural technologies and diverse socioeconomic and political lives of Maya peoples. Examining the gender relations of agricultural work within the contexts of people's lives allows us to see how Maya farmers developed farming strategies within historically situated systems of knowledge and practice. The variation in gender and farming relations throughout the Maya area indicates that it is no trivial matter to use ethnographic analogy to interpret archaeological data. The use of ethnographic analogies in the effort to understand material remains (whether in gender or in any other domain) requires sensitivity to the full ethnographic, historical, and archaeological complexity of people, materials, and meanings.

The small farming settlement of Chan Nòohol provides one example of the sociotechnological relations of Late Classic Maya hill-slope terrace farming. Using intensification techniques farmers transformed Chan Nòohol's gently sloping land into a productive agricultural landscape. People's habitual agricultural and domestic practices structured space and its use at Chan Nòohol in such a way that the agricultural and domestic spheres were spatially and socially entwined. The social and spatial relations of Chan Nòohol farmers' agricultural technology created a situation in which work around the house would have been gendered male and female. If Chan Nòohol–type social relations are more widely applicable to the multitude of Late Classic farming settlements that constitute the majority of the Late Classic landscape, it may be that such social relations provided a practical basis for more widespread notions of collaborative gender relations among Classic Maya farmsteading families.

Notes

Acknowledgments. This chapter has been in process since 1998, and many people deserve my thanks. I thank Traci Ardren for her commitment and editorial advice. Wendy Ashmore and John Lucy have advised me since I began with this research in my dissertation and were there pushing me to the very end. Ellen Bell, Jim Brown, Clark Erickson, Mark Kenoyer, Bill Middleton, Linda Neff, Anne Pyburn, Jerry Sabloff, Bob Sharer, Gabrielle Vail, and Jason Yaeger provided invaluable assistance along the way. Earlier versions of this essay were presented at the 2000 Society for Economic Anthropology meetings in Bloomington, Indiana, at the Anthropology Department at the University of Wisconsin–Madison (by invitation of Jason Yaeger), and at the Gender Studies Program at Northwestern University (by invitation of Micaela diLeonardo).

1. These figures are drawn from Steggerda's (1941) survey of five Yucatec communities. Ewell and Merrill-Sands (1987) report that between 1932 and 1936 the average distance to fields from Chan Kom was 8.5 kilometers. Between 1980 and 1982 the average distance was 4.3 kilometers, as fields had become smaller and more intensively managed.

2. I would like to thank Elizabeth Brumfiel for pointing out the distinction between

complementary and collaborative work relations when I presented an earlier version of this chapter at the 2000 Society for Economic Anthropology meetings in Bloomington.

3. More nucleated-type cities existed in the Classic period, such as those of Tikal and Caracol (Chase, Chase, and Haviland 1990).

4. Cross-culturally, intensive hill-slope terracing regimes are not associated with outfields (Turner 1992: 270).

5. I would like to thank Mark Kenoyer for pointing out the upper body/lower body similarities between the Classic corn deity and the corn plant when I gave an earlier version of this essay as a colloquium for the Department of Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 2000.

6. These fruit trees represent both mature (wild) forest fruits, such as *cohune,* and cultivated orchard fruit trees, such as avocado. Sapodilla is a mature forest fruit tree that may have been grown in orchards, at least in colonial times (*Diccionario de Motul* 1929; Lundell 1933; Marcus 1982; Michelon 1976; Robin 1999: 298).

7. Another common wall construction technique found among commoner houses of the Classic Maya period is the wattle-and-daub wall that would create an interior space that was invisible from the outside. Only one wall of one building at CN6 was constructed of wattle and daub.

Gender Divisions of Labor and Lowland Terrace Agriculture

3

LINDA STEPHEN NEFF

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH FOCUSING on sexual division of labor in agricultural settings spans a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches (Baumann 1928; Boserup 1970; Burton and Reitz 1981; Burton and White 1984; Burton et al. 1977; Carney and Watts 1990; Folbre 1982; Guyer 1980, 1981, 1988; Linares 1981, 1985). A majority of the approaches share the common, nearly universal generalization that work routines differ between men and women in the agricultural domain (Stone, Stone, and Netting 1995).

Here I focus on the gender versus sexual division of agricultural labor. When referring to gender, I am not referring to the "normative male–female dichotomy" (Hill 1998: 102). Rather, I examine the evidence to identify the cultural and biological factors relevant to a reconstruction of gender relations inherent in ancient Maya intensive agricultural practices. Gender is a socially constructed category including gender role, identity, attribution, and ideology (Hill 1998; Spector and Whelan 1989). In other words, gender constitutes what men and women actually do, how they feel about themselves when they do it, what others think of their actions, and what those activities mean within their culture (Spector and Whelan 1989). Moreover, gender expectations vary because of long-established cultural traditions and throughout the course of an individual's lifetime. Several lines of evidence form the basis of a model identifying the agricultural contexts possibly associated with gender roles in the archaeological record. This chapter addresses the methods employed and presents the initial results from excavations and lithic analysis that examines agricultural gender relations for these contexts during the Late Classic period in the lowland Maya region.

Research Design

During the Late Classic period (700–830 C.E.; LeCount et al. 1998), the Maya witnessed a considerable population increase that initiated and perpetuated more intensive agricultural strategies (Neff 1995, 1998a, 1998b; Neff and Gifford 1996). The construction and maintenance of agricultural terraces—linear stone features built for slope management (Wilken 1987)—resulted in an economic reorganization that included adjustments to and changes in labor relations. Using ethnographic, ethnohistoric, and archaeological evidence, I address the following three questions: (1) What tasks were associated with terrace agriculture? (2) What tools aided in the performance of these tasks? and (3) Who performed these tasks?

The Dos Chombitos Terracing Project (DCTP), located in the southern Xunantunich hinterlands, took a multiscalar approach to studying the different spatial contexts of intensive terrace agriculture in the Maya lowlands during the Late Classic period. This study deviates from previous terrace research, which generally focused on the following three issues: (1) the functional morphology of different slope management strategies, (2) terracing as a form of intensive agriculture and its relationship to population pressure, and (3) terrace settlement patterns (Boserup 1966; Coultas, Collins, and Chase 1992; Doolittle 1990; Dunning and Beach 1994; Fedick 1988, 1989, 1994; Harrison 1993; Killion 1992; Neff 1995; Neff and Gifford 1996; Neff et al. 1995; Stone and Downum 1999; Treacy and Denevan 1994; Turner 1974, 1978, 1979; Turner and Doolittle 1977; Turner, Hanham, and Portararo 1977). Previous research examining the social contexts of agriculturally intensified space typically focused on infield versus outfield strategies—how they complement each other for maximum farming optimization and what activities were associated with each. The infield–outfield dichotomy is an inappropriate model during the Late Classic period when a large percentage of the Maya landscape was undergoing agricultural modification.

The DCTP recognized a spatial continuum defined by the types and intensity of terrace farming activities employed. For example, the manifestations of intensification and the amount of work employed in a house-lot garden or orchard were considerably different than the signs of intensification in a more distant cross-channel terrace. Thus, the DCTP tested terrace sets *near* rural domestic architecture, *intermediate* sites between domestic architecture and what we have termed *pure* agricultural spaces (figure 3.1; equivalent to Killion's 1987 fixed-plot variable

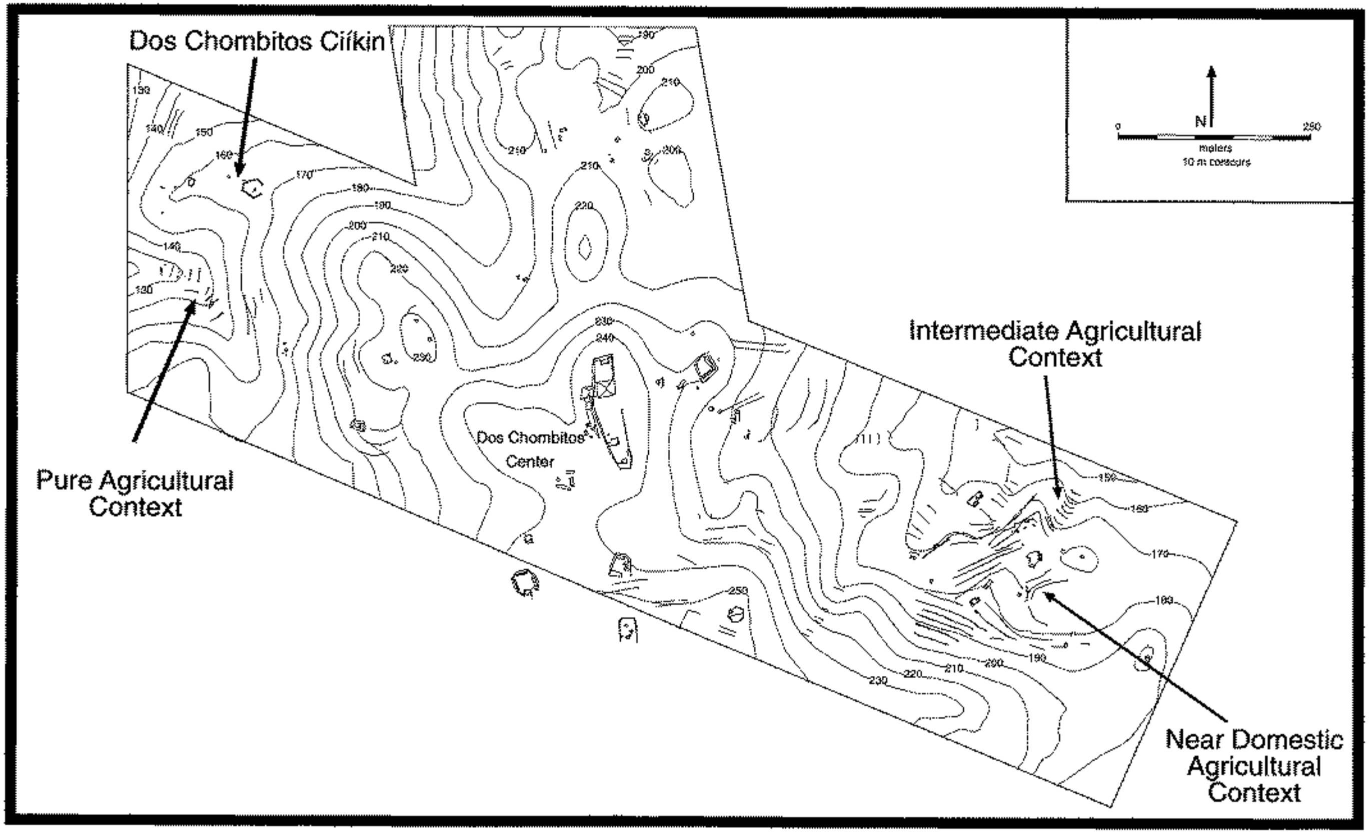

Dos Chombitos Cilkin
Intermediate Agricultural Context
Pure Agricultural Context
Dos Chombitos Center
Near Domestic Agricultural Context
N
0
250
meters
10 m contours
130
140
150
160
170
180
190
200
210
220
230
240
250

Figure 3.1. Dos Chombitos Terracing Project agricultural contexts. Data provided by L. Theodore Neff, University of Pennsylvania, from dissertation studies, "The Archaeology of Terrace Intensive Agriculture."

fallow fields). In doing so, our goal in the project was to recognize the inability to arbitrarily carve the ancient Maya landscape into infields and outfields.

Using the continuum as a guide, I explored the division of agricultural labor based on gender. I considered the tasks associated with agricultural terrace gardening, who performed those tasks, and what tools were used. Examination of the spatial relationship of tools and associated material in relation to the ethnographic and ethnohistoric data initiated a model building process for the reconstruction of gender divisions of agricultural labor in the Dos Chombitos community.

The Maya ethnohistoric record provides a temporal framework for examining the different agricultural tasks men and women performed over time—how those roles have changed and how they have stayed the same. The Yucatec Maya ethnohistoric and ethnographic records, in conjunction with ancient Maya codices, have furnished information regarding cultural norms and traditions serving to guide ancient Maya gender roles. They have also provided the full range of engendered behavior and associated tasks and tools associated with intensive agricultural strategies within the modern world (Spector and Whelan 1989).

An examination of the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial period documents provides the time depth necessary to examine continuity and change for Maya gender relations. Additionally, the practice of milpa farming by the modern Yucatec Maya represents a modification of traditional farming methods by their recent introduction of fertilizers (Kramer 1999b). The annual reuse of milpas is more analogous to the perceived fallow period of terrace agriculture. Consequently, more recent Maya milpa agriculture descriptions define agricultural tasks similar to those of ancient Maya terrace agriculture because of the increased field preparation and maintenance activities associated with each.

Building the Model

The Tasks and Tools of Intensive Terrace Farmers

The tasks associated with terrace farming techniques are a result of intensive agricultural practices that lie along a great and varied continuum. In Boserup's (1966) book *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth* she originally defines a scale for traditional farming systems ranging from *extensive* to *intensive*. Extensive agricultural strategies tend to have more land in fallow than in cultivation, requiring minimal field preparation and crop tending (G. Stone 1991: 18). Slash-and-burn or milpa farming, as it is referred to in Central America, is a common form of an extensive farming system. The process of working harder on less land is agricultural intensification (G. Stone 1991: 18). Terrace agriculture is a more intensive agricultural form. When labor is abundant, large-scale slope modification strategies in the form of large terracing projects are a preferable method of intensification.

Two forms of terraces visible archaeologically in the Dos Chombitos community include check dams and slope terraces. Check dams are stone walls built in arroyos to assist in water and soil retention. Consequently, the walls aid in the creation of fields. Slope terraces, on the other hand, control erosion and retain moisture through the construction of earthen rows or rock embankments laid perpendicular to slope gradients (Wilken 1987: 105).

A review of the ethnographic record reveals a series of common fieldwork tasks associated with terrace agriculture. Fieldwork encompasses the activities associated with forest clearing, terrace construction (including quarrying and creation), ground preparation, planting, crop maintenance such as weeding, watering, and harvesting. Other agricultural activities that are not often reported include seed processing before planting, transporting goods between villages and fields, monitoring crops, hunting or trapping vermin, field rituals, and weedy plant collection (Collier 1975: 33; Kramer 1998; Robin 1998). Agricultural fieldwork occurs at or near the household or in more distant fields. What follows is a summary of the primary agricultural tasks and the tools associated with each.

Terrace Construction

As previously stated, check dam construction occurs in stages. Initially, a farmer builds a low wall across an arroyo. Within a few years, enough soil and debris accumulate behind the wall to warrant the construction of a higher wall. This process continues until a tall strong wall supports a large level field (Wilken 1987: 100–01). A well-built terrace wall is curved to deflect the water force. A pitched outside wall holds back the water, whereas the interior wall supports the terrace bed. Slope terrace construction consists of building several parallel earth or low lying walls perpendicular to the hill slope.

In both scenarios, the tasks involved with terrace wall construction include material acquisition often involving labor-intensive quarrying, the transfer of that material, and the actual construction of the terraces (Wilken 1987: 98). Traditional terrace farmers avoid constructing their fields at long distances because of the subsequent transfer of construction material and excavation by-products (Wilken 1987: 127).

Ground Preparation

The tasks associated with preparing the land for seed vary depending on the state of the field following the preceding farming season as well as the density of the growth to be chopped down. New fields require thorough clearing using a machete, pickax, billhook, and hoe. Fields used the preceding the year are easier to prepare, requiring only the felling and burning of dried out crops and weeds left from the previous harvest (Collier 1975: 30; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1962: 43). Fields are burned prior to seeding in order to destroy the roots of undesirable weeds. The Chamula Indians living in limestone hills (similar to those in the Dos Chombitos area) in the Chiapas highlands of southern Mexico hand cultivate the slope terraces using broad hoes, or *azadones* (Wilken 1987: 111).

Seeding

Seeding occurs immediately after field preparation. The seeder carries a bag full of the selected seed in one hand and an iron-tipped (Collier 1975: 32; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1962: 44) or sharpened digging stick (Kramer 1998: 60) in the other. The seeder runs a string the full length of each row to make sure that the rows will be straight and roughly one meter apart (Kramer 1998).

Weeding

Weeding occurs throughout the growing season. Ethnographies report that in the second year of plot reuse the time spent weeding increases almost twofold with an accompanied decrease in crop yields (Emerson n.d.; Emerson and Kempton 1935; Smyth 1988; Steggerda 1941, in Kramer 1998: 61). The Zincantecos of highland Guatemala use a narrow hoe for weeding (Collier 1975: 33), whereas Yucatec Maya use their bare hands or a machete (Kramer 1998: 62).

Harvesting

Harvesting consists of walking the rows of corn (in many cases) and "slitting the husk with a sharp metal tool, often a sharpened nail, and removing the ear" (Kramer 1998: 62). Harvest begins and ends at variable times primarily depending on the specific crops and the local climatologic and topographic conditions.

The previous descriptions identify five primary agricultural tools operated by human labor to perform the tasks associated with terrace agricultural practices. The machete, pickax, billhook, and hoe were the principal forest-clearing and ground-preparation tools. Hoes and machetes were also used for weeding tasks. A sharpened digging stick was the primary seeding tool. And, finally, a sharp cutting tool was the chief harvesting tool.

Gender Divisions of Labor and Cultural Tradition

The Ethnographic Record

The Yucatec Maya ethnographic record provides copious information regarding who—men or women—performed the daily tasks (Kramer 1999b; Patch 1993; Press 1975; Redfield 1941, 1950; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934, 1962; Restall 1997; Roys 1943; Stephens 1841). The documents regularly mention men working in cornfields, hunting, carrying wood, and building houses. Women, on the other hand, are described as grinding maize, cooking, making tortillas, buying and selling goods, sewing, spinning yarn, and carrying water jugs and babies.

More specific to agricultural tasks, Redfield and Villa Rojas (1934) mention that house gardens were prepared by men, both men and women planted the seeds, and women generally did the watering and weeding. For the modern Taracan area, West (1948) also makes reference to the women cultivating the house-lot gardens using digging sticks and metal hoes. In Guatemala, Tax (1963) never heard of a woman preparing the distant milpa fields or hoeing the soils. However, women did help during milpa harvest as well as work in the house-lot gardens. One woman made milpa "by her own labor": She came from Mérida to the Dzitas–Chan Kom area, and "the extraordinary, almost monstrous, character of what she did will not soon begotten" (Redfield 1941: 174–75).

Redfield (1941) found that the Maya division of labor whereby men farm and women perform the domestic work represents a long-standing tradition originating from both the Indian and the Spanish heritages. Redfield suggests that the culturally determined gender roles "have shown in Yucatan a high degree of resistance to change" (1941: 174).

Kramer's (1999b) time allocation study in Xculoc, Yucatán, found that young women and women beyond their reproductive careers participate in many agricultural tasks (figure 3.2). Male children between the ages four and twenty-three spend 20 percent of their agricultural activities weeding, 7 percent planting, 38 percent harvesting, and 10 percent performing related agricultural tasks. Female children spend 9 percent of their agricultural work weeding, 5 percent planting, 19 percent harvesting, and 24 percent of the time performing related activities such as processing seed for planting, transporting goods between village and milpa, monitoring crops, and hunting and trapping vermin.

Thus, while male children are spending more working time in the fields, female children also contribute a great deal to the success of the overall agricultural strategy. However, Kramer (1999b) found that lactating women primarily

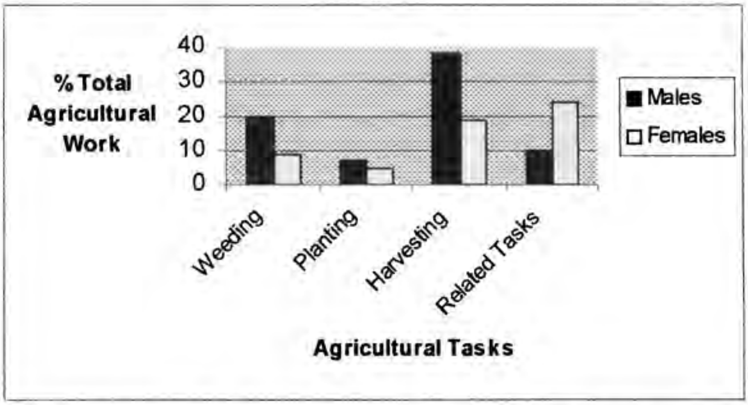


Figure 3.2. Bar chart of agricultural fieldwork time allocation for Xculoc children. Children were defined as unmarried offspring living with their parents. Data provided by Karen L. Kramer, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, from "Variation in Children's Work among Modern Maya Subsistence Agriculturalists" (1999b).

restrict themselves to village activities. Kramer argues that the costs associated with health risks cause nursing women and very young children to rarely if ever work in the distant fields.

Nonnursing women, in contrast, spend almost twice as much time in the fields away from the household (figure 3.3). Moreover, women without young children

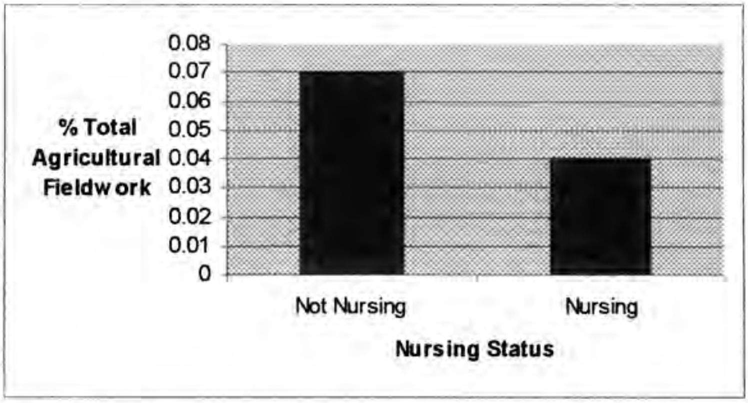


Figure 3.3. Bar chart comparison of nursing status correlated with away-from-home agricultural fieldwork. Data provided by Karen L. Kramer, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, from "Variation in Children's Work among Modern Maya Subsistence Agriculturalists" (1999b).

(ages zero–six) spend three times as much time in the distant fields versus women with a child under one year who strictly participate in domestic and village activities (figure 3.4). Because of the large family sizes in Xculoc (seven–eight children per household with a 2.2-year birth interval; Kramer 1999a), as they have been in the past century, the women spend a majority of their reproductive careers nursing.

To conclude, the ethnographic record suggests that women can and do participate in various agricultural activities; however, nursing Maya women rarely do. Based on the costs associated with resource loss, Kramer (1999b: 17) found that children—including females—make a considerable contribution to harvesting, weeding, transporting, and shelling maize. Interestingly, to add a cultural component to this biological explanation, when Kramer initially asked the families of Xculoc, "Who does the fieldwork in Xculoc?" The answer was always, "The men." I postulate that Maya cultural tradition associates milpa agriculture with men and domestic work with women—be it house-lot garden work, food production, marketing, or the increasing significance of craft production for household and suprahousehold taxation and income. This tradition overrides the blatant fact that both sexes participate in the various milpa agricultural tasks.

The Ethnohistoric Record: Continuity and Change

The *Popol Vuh* provides an interesting perspective on examining the longevity of Maya agricultural gender ideologies. A story of Quiche history and origins, the

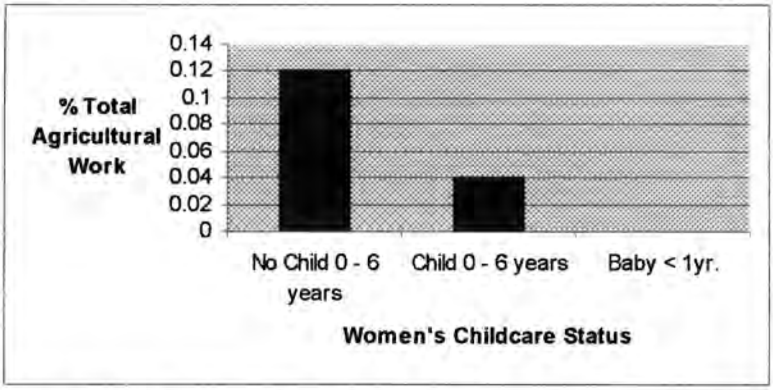


Figure 3.4. Bar chart comparison of agricultural fieldwork responsibilities versus child care status. Data provided by Karen L. Kramer, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, from "Variation in Children's Work among Modern Maya Subsistence Agriculturalists" (1999b).

Popol Vuh was first translated by Quiche lords near the end of the 1500s. It is thought to have been a preconquest hieroglyphic book or a copy of one with translations from the colonial period. A Dominican Spanish friar, Francisco Ximenez, made Quiche and Spanish copies between 1701 and 1703 C.E. It is a useful source of analogy for ancient Maya ideology as long as we take into account that it is a creation of the colonial encounter. What is more, Sanday (1981) posits that, cross-culturally, gender roles depicted in creation stories have a strong correlation with the rules governing social and cultural tradition.

In relation to agricultural fieldwork and tools, the *Popol Vuh* presents an account of two twin brothers who magically cultivated a garden with the aid of a mattock, axe, and hoe. The axe and mattock took on lives of their own, felling trees and bushes, "clearing off whole mountains, small and great" (D. Tedlock 1985: 125). Upon the brothers' departure from their home, the twins told their grandmother to bring them their midday food. The grandmother replied, "Very well, my dear grandchildren" (D. Tedlock 1985: 125), and off the brothers went to make their garden. Later in the text, a reference is made back to the grandmother, Xmucane. She was preparing the "substance of human flesh" by grinding her corn and mixing flour with water (D. Tedlock 1985: 47).

I interpret these passages as reflective of Maya gender ideology. The mattock, axe, and hoe were agricultural tools used by the masculine twin gods in fields located away from their home to perform agricultural fieldwork. The mattock, axe, and hoe are symbolically associated with masculine gardening away from the home. The grandmother, on the other hand, is symbolically associated with the grinding of corn presumably using a mano and metate. In addition, Vail (this volume) has found a similar gender ideology portrayed in the Maya Dresden and Madrid codices. Agriculture, beekeeping, and hunting were primarily male activities, and weaving and child rearing were in the realm of female work.

Turning to the Yucatec Maya postcolonial, colonial, and precolonial documents, we see a persistence of Maya agricultural gender ideologies. As far as the continuity of gender roles, colonial Yucatec Maya wills and testaments (Restall 1995) suggest that men typically worked away from the household preparing and maintaining the milpa, whereas women primarily worked within the confines of the domestic sphere (Espejo-Ponce Hunt and Restall 1997: 245). Women were two times more likely to obtain a household in a will, whereas men were inclined to bequeath land to their sons (Espejo-Ponce Hunt and Restall 1997: 246). In every instance, men—who owned the orchards, trees, and vegetable gardens—left such property to their wives (Espejo-Ponce Hunt and Restall 1997: 246–47). Few women owned horses and mules, for these were travel animals. Likewise, the female peasant farmer testators do not mention any tools. However, one-half of the male testators had one of the five tools noted above—the machete and axe being the most common bequeathed (Espejo-Ponce Hunt and Restall 1997: 247–48). Consequently, in most cases, men left tools to their sons instead of their wives or female children.

And finally, although we do see a general increase in a minimum reconstruction of family size from the mid–seventeenth century to the end of the colonial period, the average family size was and has been relatively large for a long period of time. Consequently, demands on women associated with primary child care have not lessened.

Women's Work and Intensive Agriculture

Ember (1983) argues that the relative decline (Boserup 1970: 25–26) in the contribution of women's work to agricultural production during periods of intensification is a result of an increase in women's domestic workloads. Ember's cross-cultural time allocation study found that women from intensive agricultural societies had significantly more "inside the home" work compared with women in a horticultural context. The women's outside work remained constant in both the intensive and the nonintensive agricultural contexts. Ember (1983) found that the increase in household work included food processing and preparation, an increase in household chores, and the raising of more children. Kramer's (1999b) more specific Maya study found similar results with regard to the large family size, a decrease in the total amount of fieldwork, and an increase in domestic tasks such as chopping wood, hauling water, washing, child care, cooking, and sweeping.

Ember (1983) also suggests that families supporting themselves in a market economy could also result in an increase in women's domestic work time. Nash (1993) has also found an increase in artisan household production with a decrease in land base and an increase in population. Craft specialization (VandenBosch 1999) and household excavations (Robin 1999) representative of the Late Classic period in the study area do suggest a certain degree of specialization; however, household craft production did not appear to serve extrahousehold purposes. Yet the intensive nature of the agricultural system does suggest an increase in the domestic workload—household work shared with men but primarily performed by women—perhaps resulting in an increase in craft production for the trade of basic food, clothes, and staples and possibly taxation.

Testing the Model in the Archaeological Domain

The ethnographic and ethnohistoric records suggest that modern and ancient Maya gender ideology associated agricultural fieldwork away from the household with men even though younger and older women contributed substantially to the overall productive strategy. Moreover, nursing females, in particular, spent a great deal of time performing child care duties, food preparation, marketing, and craft production in and around the domestic sphere. I propose that cultural tradition with respect to family size and child care systems within an intensive agricultural economy guide the role of women's work. Using multiple lines of evidence, I have found that this gender ideology existed in the archaeological past dating to over 1,000 years ago.

This model identifies two principal contexts possibly associated with the divisions of agricultural labor based on gender: (1) gardens directly associated with the household/domestic complex and (2) fields located at varying distances away from the household. Thus, artifact patterning based on the different agricultural contexts might reveal information regarding past gender roles.

So how does one recognize agricultural fieldwork occurring far from the household in a dispersed farming community presumably lacking the postcolonial slash-and-burn equivalent of an outfield? McAnany (1995) suggests that the centralization of previously dispersed farming populations typical of the Classic Maya into nucleated, grid-planned towns with milpa production located on the fringes of the village was a product of sixteenth-century resettlement. In fact, extensive survey data from the Maya lowlands support a dispersed but continuous distribution of households across arable lands. Perhaps population levels were so high during the Late Classic period that no available terrain existed for outfields (McAnany 1995: 74).

In congruence with McAnany's model of a biotic continuum—beginning in the pristine rain forest, moving through the fields, and terminating at the residential structure—L. Theodore Neff has recognized from survey data the multifaceted nature of the land use strategies in the region (Neff et al. 1995). Unable to excavate the entire landscape, Neff focused terrace excavations in two loci located to the east-southeast and north-northwest of Dos Chombitos, a minor pre-Columbian center overlooking the Macal River Valley.

Neff excavated terrace sets near rural domestic architecture, between domestic architecture and pure agricultural space (figure 3.1). All of the contexts were located relatively adjacent to domestic contexts, representing variations in McAnany's (1995) field classification (excluding pristine rain forest and household plots). In an attempt to disassociate terrace activities from the more narrowly defined domestic terrace gardening activities, Neff chose to examine the first set of terraces just below the domestic spatial complex. Complementing the spatial segmentation, the artifact patterning supported variations in degree and uniformity of the work associated with each context.

In relation to the gender role model, the fixed-plot variable fallow farming fields (Killion 1987), here represented as pure agricultural space, is congruent with the away from home agricultural fieldwork referred to in the ethnographic and ethnohistoric records. The near domestic and intermediate spaces, while not representing the house-lot garden, are somewhat in between the household gardening activities and what lay beyond. Consequently, I examined the artifact patterning based on the different agricultural spatial contexts excavated in an effort to reveal information regarding past gender roles.

All the excavation units were located behind and in front of terrace walls. L. T. Neff (1998b) defined the agricultural surfaces using stratigraphy, soil analysis, ceramics, and lithic data. The analytical units were terrace bed surface (planting surface) and near surface, terrace beds, and actual construction fill (and several other cultural and noncultural excavation contexts). For the purpose of this study, I exclusively examined the surface materials for comparison between the different agricultural contexts. Ceramic ware–type classifications of terrace wall construction fill suggest a Late Classic II terminus post quem for three of the terrace excavation units. Unfortunately, poor preservation of terrace wall construction fill limited our ability to firmly date the remaining terrace sets. Other research in the area also suggests a Late Classic II (700–830 C.E.) date for terrace construction (Fedick 1994). Microseriation of terrace sets with ideal preservation would provide a more accurate understanding of the changing agricultural roles during the Late Classic II period.

Lithic Analysis and Results

The lithic tool assemblage from the ancient field surfaces reveal a pattern (figure 3.5) with expedient tools, cores, polishing stones, and small tabular-shaped, broad-based distal tools—or small trowel-like tools—occurring near the domestic context. The intermediate context contained only expedient tools and small trowel-like tools. And finally, the pure context had some expedient tools and large hoe-like tools as well as the occurrence of general utility bifaces.

Expedient tools, or utilized flakes, are hard hammer percussion flakes, flake fragments, or nodules, exhibiting edge damage patterning (figure 3.6; Shafer 1983: 235). However, expedient tools lack extensive bifacial and unifacial

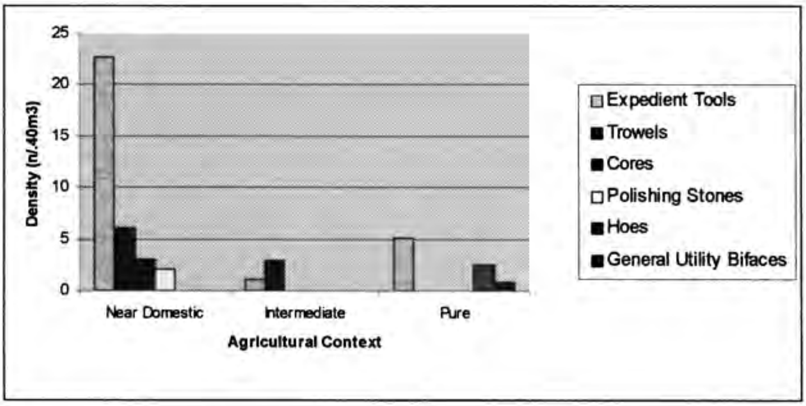


Figure 3.5. Lithic tool assemblage diversity by terrace agricultural context.

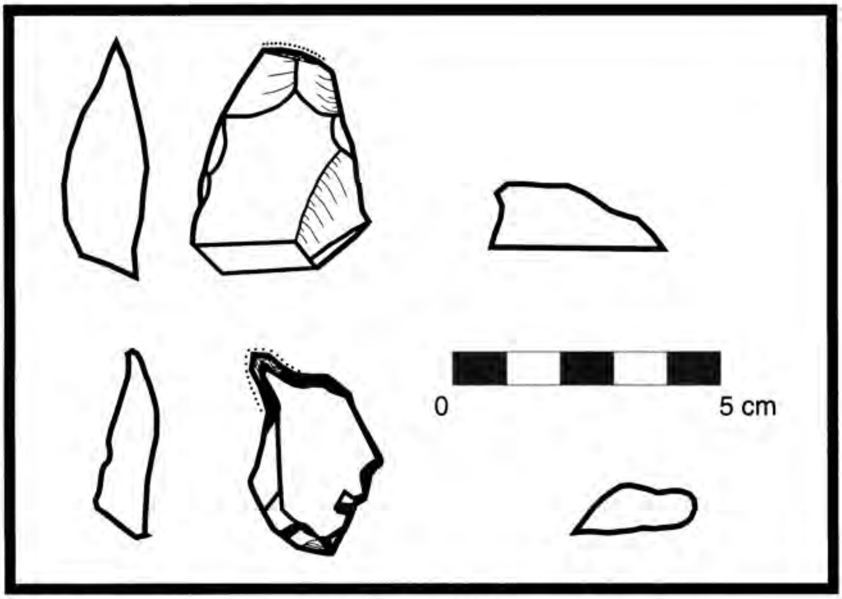


Figure 3.6. Examples of expedient tools from the Dos Chombitos Terracing Project.

retouch. Expedient tool use often varies depending on the immediate task at hand. Examining the patterning in edge rounding and smoothing accompanied by bifacial microflaking, I documented a variety of expedient tool functions ranging from cutting, scraping, and drilling to engraving, sawing, chopping, grinding, and several variations within each. However, this was a macrowear analysis—all debitage (lithic debris or lithic material) was examined using a 10X hand lens—and over 71 percent of the entire expedient tool assemblage was documented as indeterminate use wear. Interestingly, Gero (1991: 169) argues that cross-culturally prehistoric women probably made many of the utilized flake tools found in the domestic context. While this study supports their occurrence in the near domestic and intermediate agricultural contexts, more research focused on utilized flake manufacture and use in subsistence agricultural societies and more specifically with the Maya are necessary before making such a generalization.

Cores are the pieces of stone that one strikes in order to produce flakes (Whittaker 1994: 14). Consequently, their occurrence suggests that the initial stages of formal and informal tool production took place in the near domestic context. Also found in the near domestic context were polishing stones—small, often round or oval ground stones. Many researchers have suggested that the small stones were used during pottery manufacture to burnish and smooth the various ceramic forms before and after firing (Hayden 1987: 212; Rice 1987: 138–39, 150). Guatemalan ethnographies suggest that pottery manufacture was an exclusive female activity. Particularly, the women of San Jose Peten from the northwestern shore of Lake Peten Itza were observed polishing ceramic vessel walls (Reina and Hill 1978: 144). Yet Redfield and Villa Rojas (1934) and others (Osborne 1965) have documented both men and women as the potters in the villages in and around Chan Kom. The presence of polishing stones in the near domestic context supports the ideas of craft production occurring in and around the household; but who actually performed this work remains unclear. However, the ethnographic literature I review earlier in this essay does suggest that women were primarily in charge of domestic craft production.

Two new tool forms—the small and large tabular-shaped, broad-based distal tools—were found in all contexts (figures 3.7 and 3.8). However, the small trowel-like tools were only found in the near domestic context. Both tool forms were always made out of the locally available slate—a prominent geologic feature in the Macal River Valley. Tool use resulted in edge damage with extensive crushing and some rounding and polishing. The microflaking was irregular and occurred on both faces of the tools. The polish had a dull texture. Aoyama (1995) performed an extensive experimental microwear analysis using a variety of lithic material types on a number of different working materials. His examination

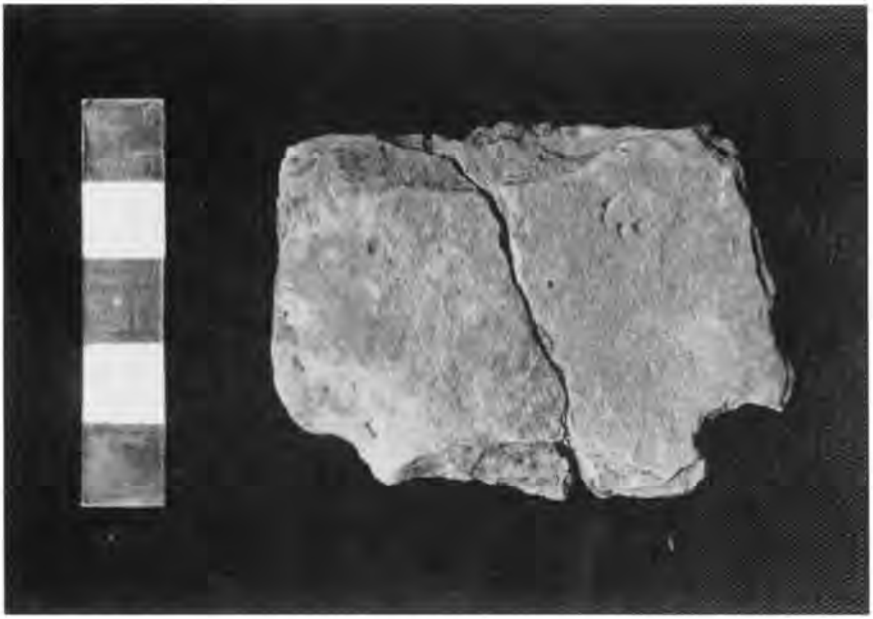


Figure 3.7. Small, tubular-shaped, broad-based, distal tools—*trowel-like* tools.

of tools at Late Classic Copan, Honduras, reveals that dull polish with a matte texture results from soil abrasion.

The broad blade, while amenable to a transverse haft like a modern hoe, could have been mounted using a simple socket haft at a right angle to the blade. The similar shape and particularly the tools' strict occurrence in the pure agricultural context, in conjunction with the use-wear patterning, suggest that these tools shared a function similar to present-day hoes. The Dos Chombitos broad blade tools and general utility bifaces are strikingly similar in shape to the well-known Mill Creek and Dover chert archaeological hoes dating to the Mississippian period (Thomas 1997: 10).

Interestingly, the larger hoe-like tools were found strictly in the pure agricultural context, and the smaller trowel-like tools, in the near domestic and intermediate contexts. The ethnographic evidence demonstrates that weeding with the aid of the hoe could be done by men or women—women worked the fields located closer to the home, with the men going out to the distant fields. The trowel-like tool would have been better suited for the near domestic field contexts where the amount of clearing was less because of the continuous maintenance of these fields. The larger hoe-like tools were probably more appropriate for the clearing and heavy weeding tasks associated with the pure or more distant fields.

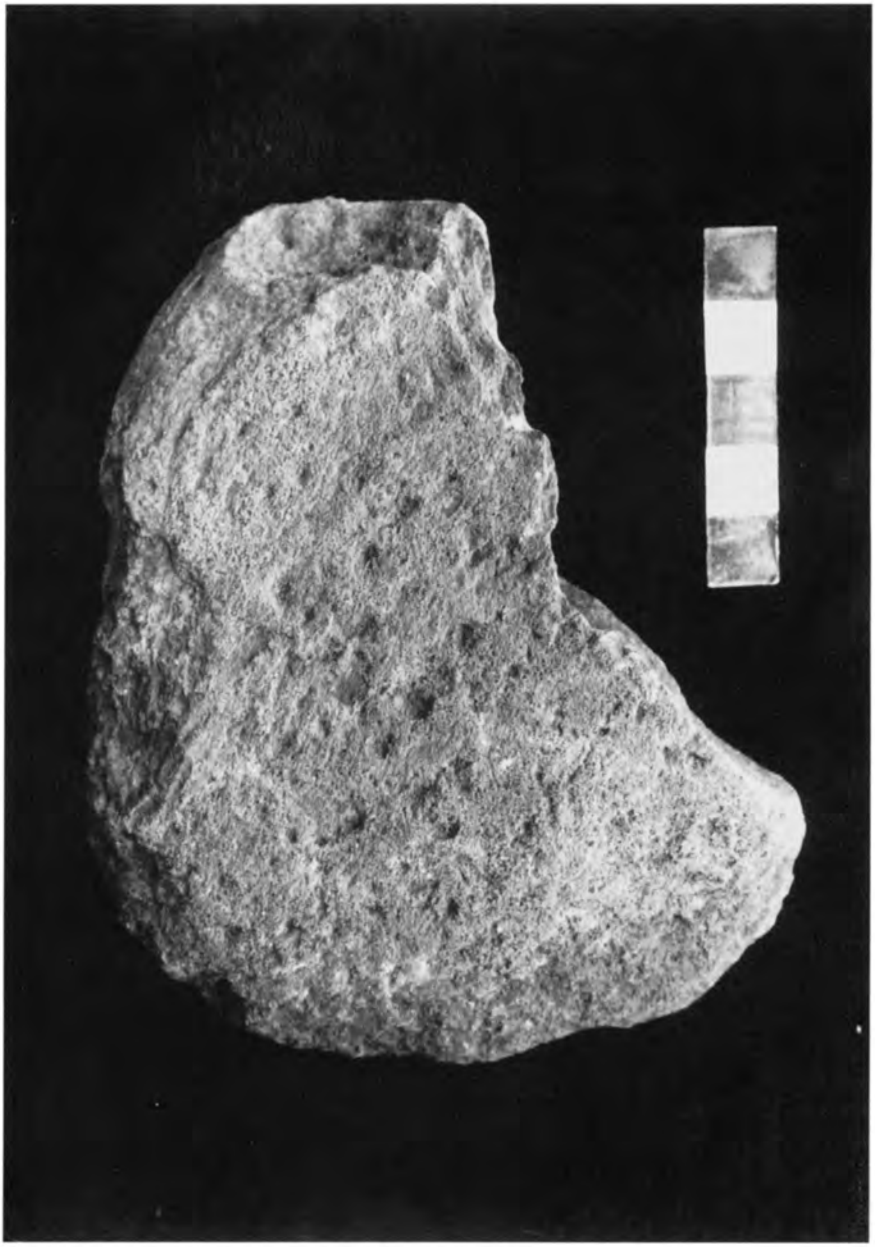


Figure 3.8. Large, tubular-shaped, broad-based, distal tools—*hoe-like* tools.

Finally, I will examine the uses of general utility bifaces (figure 3.9). General utility bifaces, ubiquitous tools during the Late Classic, are large oval bifaces made out of chert. Using ethnographic and archaeological evidence, McAnany (1992a) argues that the oval bifaces found at Pulltrouser Swamp were used as weeding and tilling implements. She differentiates the oval bifaces at Pulltrouser Swamp from the thicker, celt-like, tranchet-bit forms that Shafer (1983) describes as the forms found in northern Belize.

McAnany suggests that the rounded and polished edge wear is a product of "repeated contact with an abrasive, nonpercussive, high-silicate medium," such as the soils around Pulltrouser Swamp (1992a: 204). Two hafting techniques are suggested for the Pulltrouser forms: (1) the simple socket haft at a right angle to the blade and (2) a right-angled hoe haft (McAnany 1992a: 204). One complete general utility biface exhibiting similar patterning was found in the DCTP pure agricultural context. Another distal fragment from the pure context exhibits sickle gloss, readily apparent to the unaided eye. The highly polished edge and dorsal face are smoothed and rounded, resulting from administering phytolith additives from grassy plants to the tool surface (Clark 1995: 128).

Clark (1995) argues that oval bifaces with sickle gloss were used in a similar

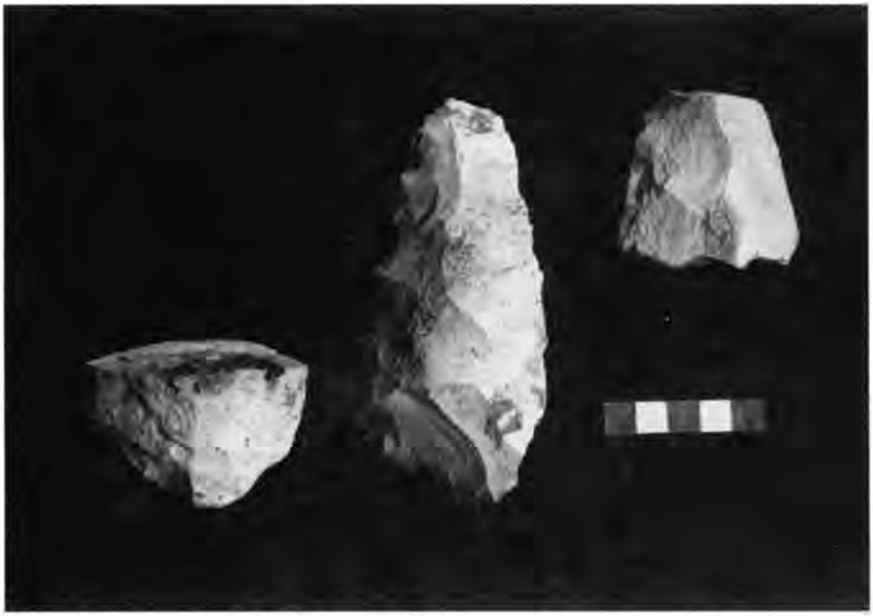


Figure 3.9. General utility bifaces from the Dos Chombitos Terracing Project.

manner to present machetes. He examined a modern-day Lacantun oval biface with sickle gloss on one of the exterior edges and then suggested that it was hafted like depictions in the Dresden and Madrid codices (figure 3.10). Intriguingly, all male gods hold these tools. Based on the evidence, I would argue that at least this distal end (with the sickle gloss) represents a tool that was used to clear forest—*u batil sakhab*—principally secondary growth, including grass and possibly old corn stalks.

Aoyama's (1995) important microwear study reveals the complexity of interpreting stone tool function. The careful interplay of analogy, context, experimentation, and use wear patterning aids in providing a more accurate interpretation of stone tool function. This is important because general utility bifaces were probably used for a variety of purposes, ranging from forest clearing (which includes the cutting of grass and wood) to weeding, tilling, and wood carving. The lexical diversity of the word *axe* is documented in the *Diccionario Maya Cordemex* (Clark 1995). Summarized in table 3.1 are more than eight different axes varying in size and use. Consequently, the macrowear study I performed can only suggest a functional interpretation because it is very likely that these tools were used for a variety of tasks.

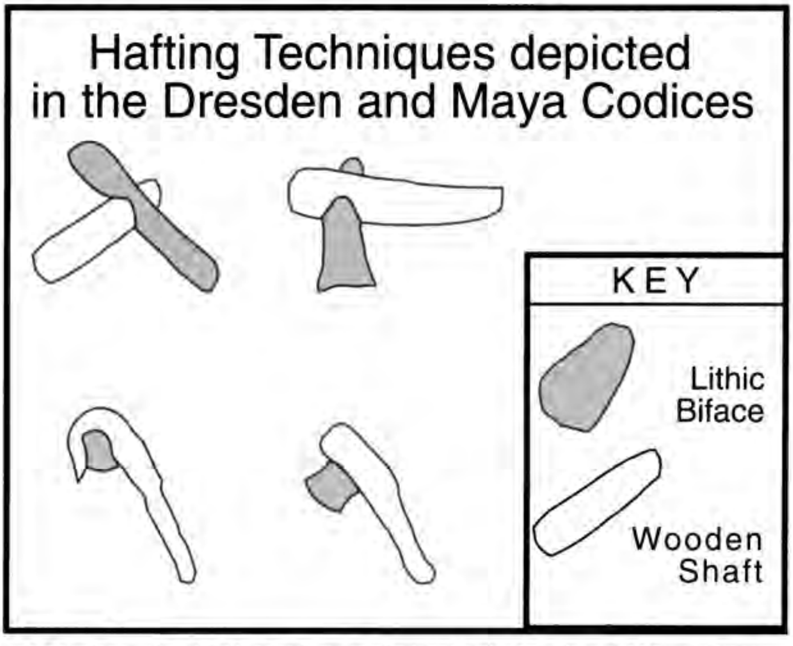


Figure 3.10. Examples of hafting techniques depicted in the Dresden and Maya codices.

Table 3.1. Lexical Diversity of the Word *Axe* in the *Diccionario Maya Cordomex*.

U batil sakhab	Axe or lance with which Indians cut grass
Baat	Axe, hatchet, large axe
Bat	Axe, small axe used in one hand
Batil, baatil	Axe for cutting
Bat chaak	Flint axe of the god Chac
Haxbil bat	Native axe with an ancient handle
K'axbil tah	Axe of small rods
Polok bat	Hatchet with which Indians carved[a]

Source: John E. Clark, "A Maya Grass Axe or Corn Sickle," *Lithic Technology* 20, no. 2 (1995): 128–34.
[a] From Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980, cited in Clark 1995.

Conclusion

Using multiple lines of evidence, I found that the modern and ancient Maya gender ideology associating men with agricultural work occurring away from the household existed in the archaeological past over 1,000 years ago. Moreover, nursing females, in particular, spent a great deal of time performing child care duties, food preparation, craft production, and possibly marketing in and around the domestic sphere. I posit that cultural tradition with respect to family size and child care systems within an intensive agricultural setting has defined the role of women's work.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the masculine forest-clearing task using a machete-like tool occurred away from the household in the pure agricultural context. The tools found in this context represent a specialized agricultural tool kit, including weeding and forest-clearing tools—presumably used by men, children, and older women. A majority of the artifacts found in the near domestic context represent activities often associated with women (perhaps a nursing woman and her children), including craft and near household farming production. The intermediate space was more similar to the near domestic context and lacked the specialized agricultural tools associated with the pure context.

I concur with McAnany (1995) in that pure agricultural space represents an archaeological correlate of away-from-home agricultural work. I have presented the lithic tool variation along the prehistoric agricultural continuum, making suggestions regarding engendered behavior. Furthermore, to avoid traps of a direct historical approach (Thomas 1997), I have used postcolonial, colonial, and precolonial documents as time-depth indicators of continuity and change in gender ideologies. As expected, I have found many dissimilarities between the ethnographic present and the ethnohistoric past and one similarity—agriculture occurring away from home is symbolically and ideologically associated with men even though women performed a great deal of agricultural work.

The divisions of labor as reflected in the ethnographic accounts, ethnohistoric documents, and Maya codices all support the proposed gender ideology. However, some ethnographic descriptions shed light on the complexities associated with strict gender attribution to specific tasks generally dominated by men. During the Late Classic period of agricultural intensification, women in general and child-bearing women more specifically were actively involved with meeting the demands associated with the increased domestic workload. Women, principally the young and old, participated in the away-from-home agriculture as the child-bearing women worked the fields directly adjacent to their households—harvesting, weeding, seeding, transporting, and shelling agricultural goods. And all women shared the never-ending domestic work involving food preparation, buying and selling goods, sewing, spinning yarn, and carrying water jugs and babies.

Overall, this research provides a solid methodological backbone for an archaeological interpretation of past gender relations. Using multiple lines of evidence and a fair use of analogy, I have been able to construct a model of prehistoric Maya gender ideology during the Late Classic period. I test the model using a technological approach to lithic analysis in conjunction with a microscale spatial analysis to discuss in relative terms the engendered meaning of lithic artifact variations within their different agricultural contexts. Innovative use of the conjunctive approach or the weaving together of multiple lines of evidence to depict ancient gender relations is not new to feminist archaeological study (Gero 1991; Hastorf 1991; Silverblatt 1991; Tringham 1991; Walde and Willows 1991; Wright 1991). However, the conjunctive approach has not been used to effectively engender all those individuals—commoners, elites, and people of varying age groups—who made up the ancient Maya world. Thus, more recent uses of the conjunctive approach have stimulated my interest in ancient Maya gender division of terrace agricultural labor.

4

Spindle Whorls: Household Specialization at Ceren

MARILYN BEAUDRY-CORBETT AND SHARISSE McCAFFERTY

HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY HAS become a major focus of study in Mesoamerica as researchers shift from an earlier emphasis on elite centers and public architecture. (See Sheets 1992: 19–25 for a brief summary of this subfield through the early 1990s.) Current emphasis is on using material remains to try to understand the behavior that occurred in the domestic unit and to place households into a broader community context (Allison 1999). Movement away from normative patterns and recognition of the complexity of domestic relationships affect the analysis and interpretation of artifact assemblages. The parallel development in archaeology of gender studies includes an examination of gender within household settings (Goldberg 1999; Lawrence 1999; Spencer-Wood 1999), in materials production (Gero 1991), and in the development of technology (Wright 1991).

Fiber processing and cloth production generally have been assigned to women in prehistoric Mesoamerica as household-provisioning tasks similar to that of cooking (Landa 1978: 55; Sahagún 1950–82, book 2: 139, figs. 58, 75; Torquemada 1975–83, vol. 1: 387; see McCafferty and McCafferty 2000: 49–50 for a summary of this topic). Spinning and weaving tools were incorporated as insignia of members of the earth/fertility goddess complex symbolizing their roles as patronesses of the arts, particularly the domestic arts of women. Implements became proxies for female identity, evoking a symbolic affiliation (Ciaramella 1994, 1999). Figurines and painted ceramics with Classic Maya images reinforce the association of women and weaving in that culture, as does the identification of Chak Chel as the goddess of weaving along with her other personae related to birth and healing (see Vail and Stone, this volume).

Ethnohistoric sources establish a strong correlation between spinning and weaving activities and female gender identity (Brumfiel 1991; McCafferty and McCafferty 1991). However, the perceived universality of spinning and weaving has incorporated into our mythology as a given the idea that all Mesoamerican women performed these tasks according to their own household needs and did not play a role in the community-wide economic system. We need to reexamine textile production for possible variability in organization that can relate to status, ethnicity, or family structure.

Data recovered from the late-sixth-century agricultural community of Ceren in western El Salvador allow us to take a critical look at spinning—an important stage in cloth production—and evaluate whether this activity was performed only as a standard part of household provisioning or if, in fact, it represents a type of production specialization with implications about the social roles of the spinners. This case study gives us an opportunity to look at agents not activities, at performers not functions, as proposed by Brumfiel (1992). Before presenting the Ceren data, we will review the available raw materials and the methods of processing them.

Fiber Sources and Preparation

Ethnographic studies indicate that a wide variety of fibers probably were spun at various times in different parts of Mesoamerica (table 4.1). The two most widely used, cotton and maguey, required different types of preparation. Maguey processing is more complex than cotton processing.

The Parsons's work in documenting maguey preparation ethnographically has been a key aid in assessing the archaeological record (Parsons 1972, 1975; Parsons and Parsons 1990). They have recorded two systems—*penca cruda* (raw leaf) and *penca asada* (cooked leaf)—differentiating between them and discussing the methods and tools utilized in each process (Parsons and Parsons 1990: 298). Sahagún also reports on the method of processing maguey leaves (1950–82, book 10: 73). A wide range of tools and facilities is needed. Processing works best and is most efficient in a workshop setting with more than two people handling the various steps. Lots of waste is produced; lots of water is needed.

Cotton processing is simpler, but preparation of this fiber is still very time consuming. Decompaction is done by beating, carding, or combing. Depending on the desired end product, cotton may have to be beaten many times—the better the fiber preparation, the better the end product. Alternative methods include

Table 4.1. Fibers Spun in Mesoamerica.

Monocots	Agave/maguey*
	Yucca/palm
Dicots	Nettles
	Hemp
	Hibiscus
	Cattail
Seedpod Products	Silk Cotton
	Cotton *(Gossyplum)***
Other fiber sources	Silk
	Hair
	Spanish Moss
	Feathers
	Metal

**Agave americana* predominates.
**Three varieties *(G. barbadensis, G. hirsutum, G. religiosum).*

using a maguey leaf with spines intact or even a single maguey spine. Cordry and Cordry (1941: 104–06) discuss and illustrate cotton preparation for hand spinning by the Zoques of Chiapas in 1940. Preparation and processing of the less commonly used fibers are described in McCafferty and McCafferty 1999. The procedures vary because of plant differences and cultural practices. But in spite of the different processing procedures, the spinning tool kit for various fibers includes the same components:

- spindles of varying sizes
- whorls of different dimensions
- containers or a way of maintaining the fiber while spinning
- containers or a way of supporting the spindle if the supported spinning technique is used.

The Spanish chronicler Sahagún (1997: 207–08) provides lists of articles with which women worked, separating those that noblewomen used and those that female commoners used. In each case there were components related to fiber processing. Tools of the noblewomen included a bowl for blue dye, an earthen bowl for feathers, a spinning bowl, a spindle whorl, and baskets for feathers and rabbit hair. Tools of the female commoner related to maguey processing and included fiber, a stone for scraping, an instrument for beating, a board on which maguey leaves were prepared for combing and cleaning fibers, and a palm leaf basket. It is likely that the tools in these kits would have been stored together when not in use.

Objects in the kit that most directly affect the processing are the spindle and the whorl. Whorl form and mass are important properties that relate to the desired end product. A form typology has been developed based on whorls from Cholula and augmented by information from published sources, the goal being to create a system that is flexible enough to use throughout Mesoamerica. The typology considers diameter, weight, height, hole size, and shape in order to assess for which kind of fiber the whorl would be appropriate and the kind of thread that would be produced (McCafferty and McCafferty 1999, 2000). The typology has been applied to the Ceren assemblage as described below.

Ethnographic analogies demonstrate that two basic spinning methods are employed. The drop-spinning or free-spindle method is used while walking or standing. Supported or stationary spinning is used when the spinner is seated and the spindle is supported in a ceramic vessel, sherd, gourd rind, or coconut shell or on a hearth. Thigh spinning with a spindle and whorl is a variation on supported spinning. An unnotched spindle shaft is used, and the spindle is rolled between the thigh and the palm of the hand. The spindle tip is sometimes supported in a small cup placed on the ground. This technique requires a longer spindle and a large, flat, disk-like whorl.

There are ethnographic accounts of spinners putting a small amount of wood ash or lime into the bottom of a gourd and on the fingers that hold the spindle to make it spin more smoothly (Cordry and Cordry 1941: 107). Garcia Valencia (1975) reports that indigenous women of Mexico practice supported spinning using clay whorls supported in chocolate cups with ash or soot near the pivot point. Chalk was included as part of the tool kit of the Aztec spinner and could be used in the same way as the ash (Sahagún 1950–82, book 8: 49).

The Ceren Case

The Site

The Ceren site in western El Salvador (see figure 4.1) has been investigated since 1989 under the direction of Payson Sheets of the University of Colorado at Boulder. A number of structures and parts of the surrounding landscape have been excavated at this village, which was buried by a volcanic eruption in 600 C.E. (See McKee 1999: 30–32 for a description of the site and volcanism in the area.)

Three types of domestic structures as well as a number of buildings used for various nondomestic purposes have been excavated. The domestic structures have been classified as domicile/living, storeroom *(bodega)*, and kitchen. A roofed platform without walls, interpreted as a chipped stone tool production area, is

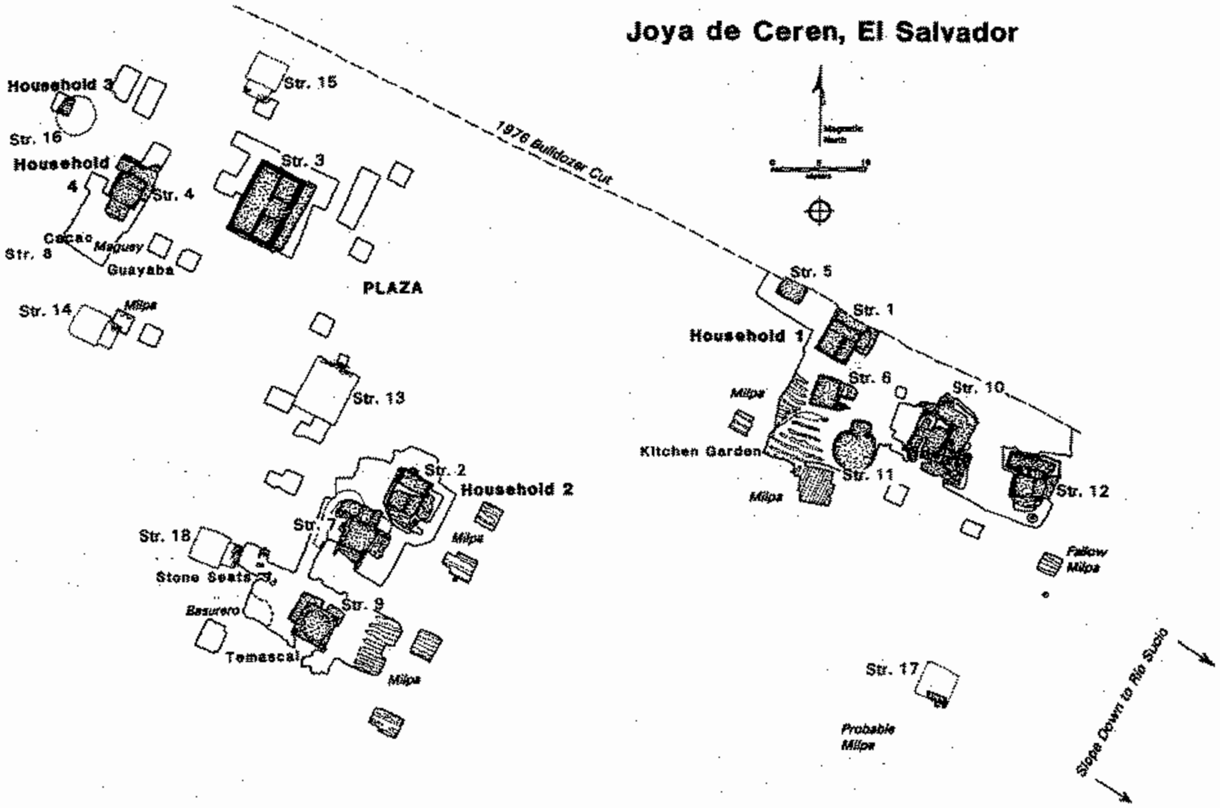

Joya de Ceren, El Salvador
Magnetic North
0
5
10
meters
1976 Bulldozer Cut
Household 3
Str. 15
Str. 16
Household 4
Str. 3
Str. 4
Cacao
Maguey
Str. 8
Guayaba
PLAZA
Str. 14
Milpa
Str. 13
Str. 5
Str. 1
Household 1
Str. 6
Str. 10
Milpa
Kitchen Garden
Str. 11
Milpa
Str. 12
Str. 2
Household 2
Str. 18
Str. 7
Milpa
Stone Seats
Str. 9
Basurero
Temascal
Milpa
Fallow Milpa
Str. 17
Probable Milpa
Slope Down to Rio Sucio

Figure 4.1. Map of the Ceren site showing excavated and unexcavated areas (by Payson Sheets).

included as part of the domestic space. Sheets (1992) and Sweely (1998: 396–99, 1999: 156–60) provide descriptions and discussion of the Ceren structures. Figure 4.1 shows the excavated parts of the site along with some unexcavated numbered structures (Structures 13–17) identified from test pitting for a roofing project. Other structures identified through geophysical testing (Conyers 1996) are not shown on this map.

Structures 1 (domicile), 5 (work area), 6 (storeroom), and 11 (kitchen) are designated Household 1. Structures 10 and 12 are nondomestic buildings related to shamanic and ceremonial activities including feasting. Structures 2 (domicile) and 7 (storeroom) are termed Household 2. The nearby Structure 9 is a sweat bath *(temascal)*, assumed to have been for community use. Structure 4 is a storeroom for another household. Structure 3 is a large community-use structure. Structure 13 has not been excavated but has been identified from the test pitting operation. It seems to be similar to the public building in terms of its substructure, is near the public building, Structure 3, and opens onto the same adjacent open plaza area.

Excellent preservation, plus use of a casting method for filling voids caused by the hot ash decomposing organic materials, has produced information about plants growing in areas near the structures. Thus, we know, for example, that agave *(Agave cf. americana)* was planted adjacent to Structure 4, possibly as many as seventy plants if the growing area extends as far as expected in the unexcavated area (figure 4.2). Leaves up to thirty-eight centimeters long were located near the base of the plant, leading to the conclusion that some of the plants had not been exploited for at least one growing season prior to the eruption that destroyed the village (Gerstle 1990: 120) (figure 4.3). We do not have direct evidence about where cotton was being grown, but the presence of numerous seeds has led David Lentz (Lentz et al. 1996: 255) to identify the species as *Gossypium hirsutum*.

Fiber Products and Thread Production at Ceren

The recovery of fiber products including cloth (both tightly and loosely woven), remains of a string bag, and string used with fencing and roofing attests to the availability of both cotton and maguey products in the community. With available raw materials and finished products we can look for evidence of the production of the intermediate product, thread. The expected tools are spindles and spindle weights as well as containers for unspun fibers and for supporting the spindle if supported spinning was being done. Data relating to each part of the spinning tool kit are summarized below.

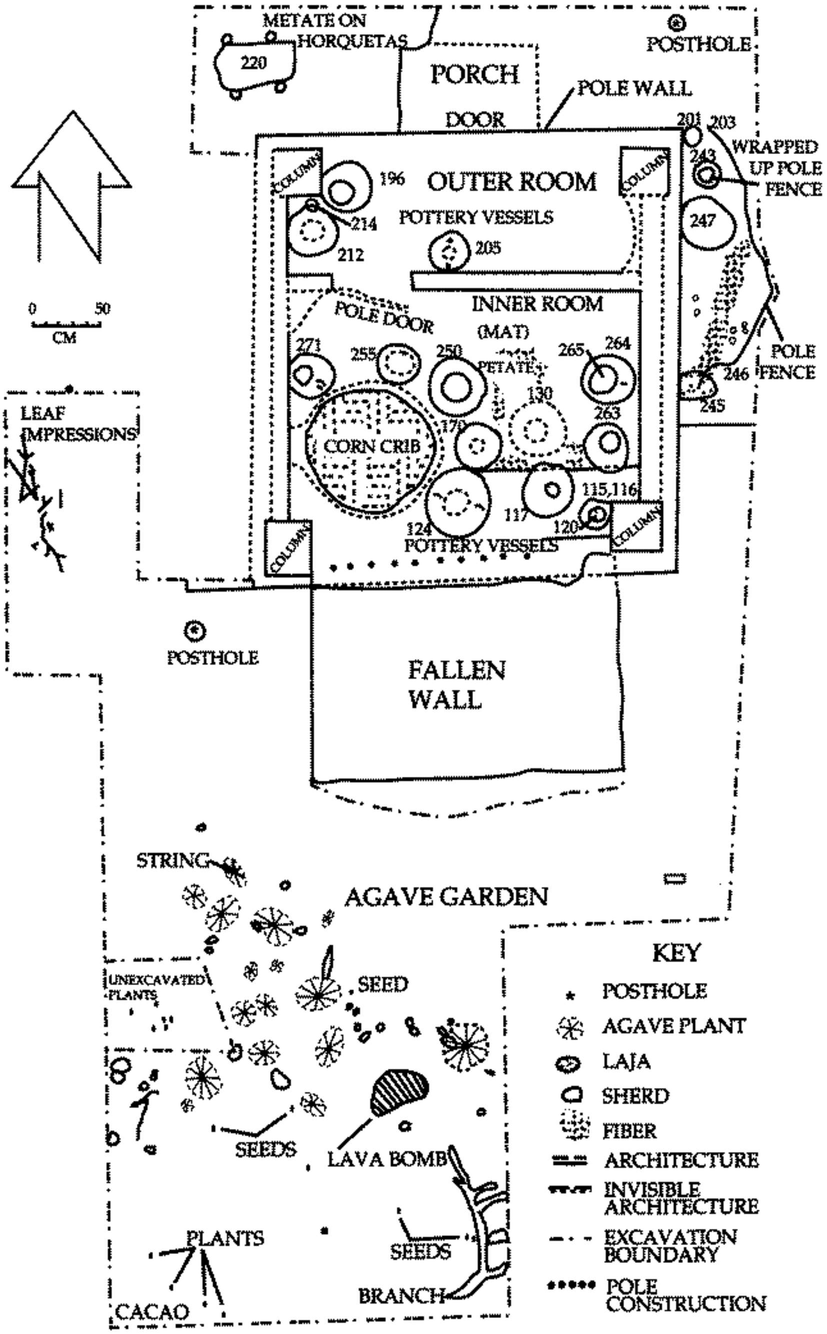

METATE ON
HORQUETAS
220
PORCH
POSTHOLE
POLE WALL
DOOR
201
203
WRAPPED
UP POLE
FENCE
243
247
COLUMN
196
OUTER ROOM
COLUMN
214
POTTERY VESSELS
212
205
POLE DOOR
INNER ROOM
(MAT)
PETATE
271
255
250
265
264
POLE
FENCE
246
245
130
263
170
CORN CRIB
115,116
117
120
124
POTTERY VESSELS
COLUMN
COLUMN
0
50
CM
LEAF
IMPRESSIONS
POSTHOLE
FALLEN
WALL
STRING
AGAVE GARDEN
UNEXCAVATED
PLANTS
SEED
SEEDS
LAVA BOMB
PLANTS
SEEDS
BRANCH
CACAO
KEY
POSTHOLE
AGAVE PLANT
LAJA
SHERD
FIBER
ARCHITECTURE
INVISIBLE
ARCHITECTURE
EXCAVATION
BOUNDARY
POLE
CONSTRUCTION

Figure 4.2. Plan of Structure 4 with agave garden, Ceren site (after Sheets 1992: fig. 6-1).

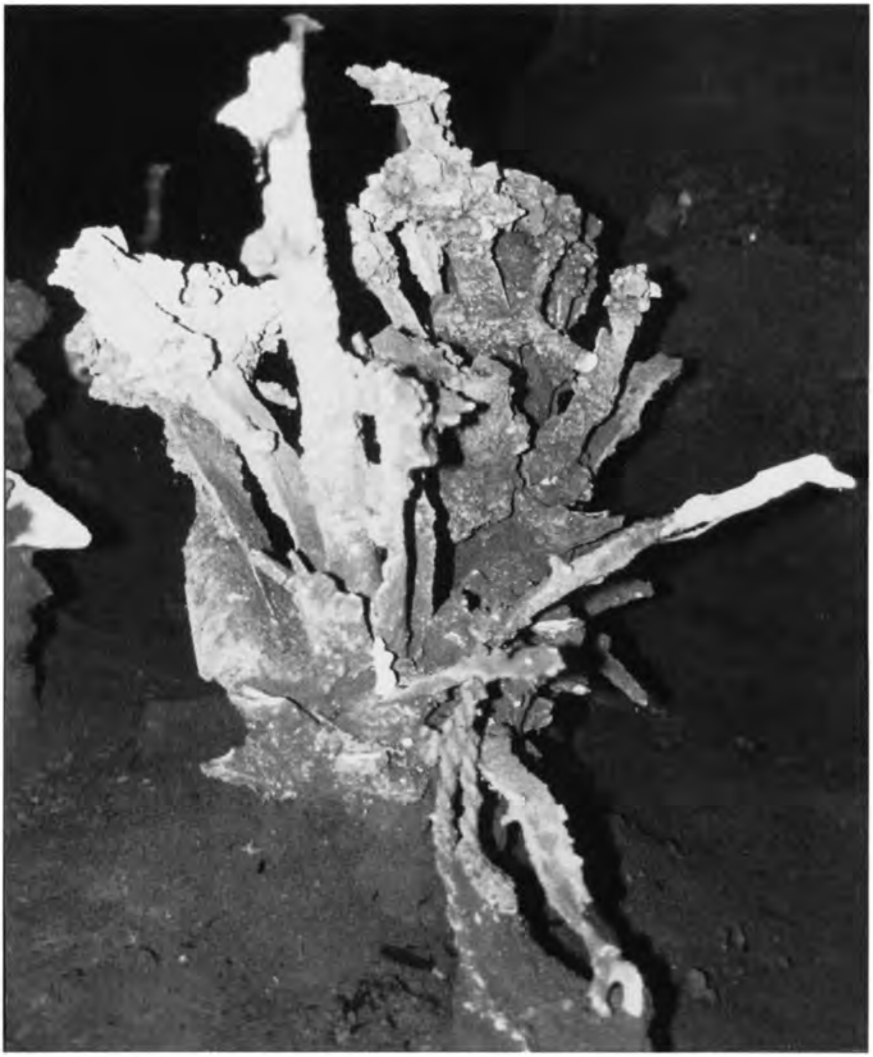


Figure 4.3. Agave plant cast with two-ply string, Structure 4 garden, Ceren site (photo by Payson Sheets).

SPINDLES. We can say very little about the spindle component of the tool kit because only one fragment of a carbonized wooden spindle was recovered from the storeroom of Household 2 along with a nonceramic whorl discussed below. However, the diameter of the spindle can be determined from the central hole of the whorl.

SPINDLE WEIGHTS. Three types of weights have been recovered—sherd disks that could have had this function, a nonceramic whorl, and ceramic whorls.

SHERD DISKS. This artifact category may relate to fiber processing. Eight of the nine complete specimens are roughly shaped "blanks," disks that would fit into the whorl typology as suitable for supported spinning of maguey fiber (McCafferty and McCafferty 1999). The other complete specimen fits into the type described as being for supported spinning of soft and loosely spun thread using a short to medium staple fiber such as cotton or feathers.

NONCERAMIC WHORL. This is shaped from a coyol palm endocarp (the inner layer of the pericarp where there are two or more layers of different textures or consistencies). This whorl is ultralightweight and has a very small diameter along with a very high shape ratio and a large hole (spindle diameter). All these characteristics point to a very specialized usage.

CERAMIC WHORLS. A total of twelve ceramic whorls has been recovered to date. Four attributes of the recovered whorls—diameter, weight, height, and hole diameter—were tabulated and evaluated against the typology (table 4.2). From the average measurements the Ceren whorls can be described as being of very small diameter, very lightweight, and high with a consistently large hole size. The consistency of the hole size (spindle diameter) probably relates to available wood with the necessary characteristics of being straight, splinter free, and durable. Several tree species native to Ceren's tropical wet and dry climate would be candidates for spindle use, including calabash *(crescentia)* and cedar. Painted gourds have been recovered at Ceren, and Spanish cedar (*Cedrela* sp) charcoal has been identified as well (Lentz et al. 1996: 256–57). Several other trees native to Central America but not yet identified at Ceren could also have been used as spindles—*palo santo* and a deciduous tree whose wood is known as Surinam.

The combination of the whorl dimensions would have affected the spun

Table 4.2. Dimensions of Ceramic Whorls.

			Descriptive Class	
	Mean	*Range*	*Mean*	*Range*
Diameter	26 mm	22–30 mm	Very Small	Very Small–Small
Weight	12.8 g	8.5–18.3 g	Very Light	Ultralight–Light
Height	17 mm	12–20 mm	High	Medium–High
Hole diameter	7 mm	5–10 mm	Large	Medium–Large

thread in several ways. In *Hands on Spinning*, Raven says, "The smaller the spindle, the finer the yarn, and the larger the spindle, the greater the size of the yarn" (1987: 21). So with the large hole size the thread size would increase, but a fine thread could still be produced because of the height and small whorl diameter. A second variable relates to the amount of fiber used in the drafting, that is, material pulled down to spin the thread. Raven says that the third axiom of spinning is "The fewer the number of fibers that you draft, and thus the finer the diameter of the yarn, the more twist you will need to hold it together" (1987: 17). We could postulate that the Ceren spinners drafted or pulled down a little more fiber and so needed a different spindle diameter to accommodate their thread production.

In terms of the Cholula typology (McCafferty and McCafferty 1999, 2000) the Ceren specimens group with Type C whorls. Type C is an ultralightweight whorl with a very small diameter and a medium height. The shape ratio is very high. The hole varies from small to medium. Supported spinning with this type of whorl using a short to medium staple fiber would produce thin thread with a slightly reduced twist. These Ceren whorl attributes are consistent with the hypothesis that cotton was the fiber being spun. The whorls, also, are too lightweight for maguey, lending additional support for their use in spinning cotton.

FIBER SUPPORT CONTAINERS. Although no small ceramic bowls used for supported spinning have been recovered at Ceren, sherd fragments or partial vessels could have been so used. Additionally, because there are examples of painted gourds at Ceren, we assume that both painted and unpainted specimens were in use and could have served this function. Hemispheres of wood ash presumably in plain gourds were recovered from elevated contexts in storerooms and are interpreted as having been used with water in place of lime for softening maize. Some could also have been available for helping to make the spindle spin more smoothly as reported in the ethnographic accounts (Cordry and Cordry 1941: 107; Garcia Valencia 1975).

Fiber Processing Specialization at Ceren

The distribution of objects related to spinning and fiber processing across the excavated areas of the Ceren community suggests that household specialization existed in terms of the fiber that was spun and other aspects of fiber processing (table 4.3). The most extensive evidence—from Household 1—will be presented after the data from other locations. The implication of scrapers associated with maguey processing being found in each household will also be discussed below.

Table 4.3. Distribution of Spinning and Other Fiber-Related Objects.

Item	*Location*	*Number*
Household 1		
Cotton related		
Ceramic spindle whorls	Domicile	3
	Storeroom	2
	Kitchen	2
	South of kitchen	1
Maguey related		
Sherd disk blanks	Storeroom	7
	Storeroom	1
Fiber coloring/coating (in association with spindle whorl)		
Miniature metate, red pigment, shells	Domicile	1
Red pigment and mica mixture, bowl to hold fiber	Storeroom	1
Household 2		
Maguey related		
Scraper	Storeroom	1
Feather related		
Drilled sherd disk	Outside domicile	1
Specialized spinning (fiber not id'ed)		
Coyol endocarp whorl	Storeroom	1
Household 4		
Maguey related		
Scraper	Storeroom	1
Weaving or sewing		
Bone needle and awl (mammal)	Storeroom	1
Bone needle (bird)	Storeroom	1
Nondomestic Structures		
Cotton related		
Ceramic spindle whorls	Structure 10	1
	Structure 12	2
	South of Structure 10, 12	1
Maguey related		
Partial sherd disks	Structure 13 (test pit)	8

Objects in Household 2 contexts point to activity in spinning feathers and other types of specialized fibers because the ultralight coyol spindle whorl not related to more standard fibers was recovered from the storeroom of this household. The one shaped and drilled disk found outside the domicile, Structure 2, is a very lightweight, shallow whorl with a small diameter and medium to large hole. It has a low shape ratio and would have been good for supported spinning of soft and loosely spun thread using short to medium staple cotton or feathers (Type

D3). Recent multivariate analysis of spindle whorls from Cholula has identified Type D specimens as the most abundant type in that location. An association of avian and feather icons with Type D whorls supports the interpretation that feather thread was being produced (McCafferty and McCafferty 1999). Feather thread, spinning, and appropriate whorls for this activity were recorded by Sahagún in the colonial period (1950–82, book 8: 49, book 10: 92).

Only the storeroom of Household 4 (Structure 4) has been excavated, so it is premature to draw firm conclusions about craft activities of women there. Nevertheless, the only unique fiber-related objects are bone needles and an awl, parts of either a weaving or a sewing kit. Interestingly, one of the needles is a very fragile object made from a bird bone.

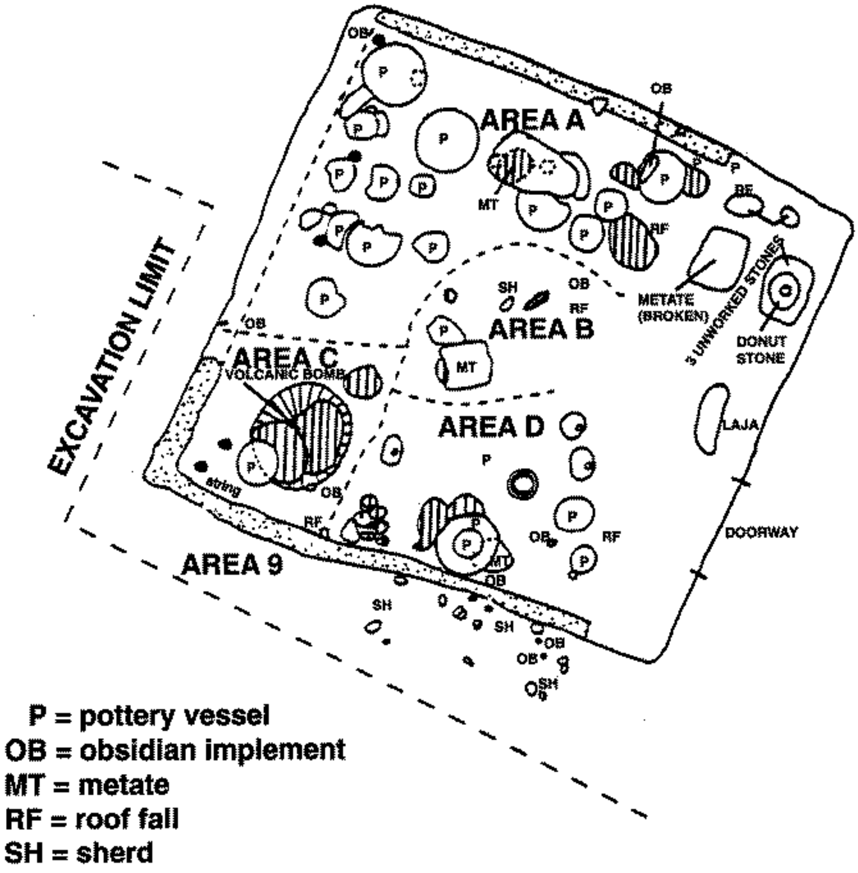
Although neither Household 2 nor Household 4 has yielded any cotton-related craft objects, the twelve ceramic whorls, all appropriate for spinning this fiber, were found in or near various Household 1 structures and in the adjacent nondomestic structures that are thought to have been closely associated with or actually serviced by Household 1 (Gerstle 1990; Sweely 1998). This finding and suggestions of specialized fiber production in Household 2 and possible sewing or weaving activities in Household 4 coalesce as evidence that fiber-related crafts were specialized activities of women in different households. We believe that in this community at the time of its destruction women had moved into the realm of artisanal work and away from strictly intrahousehold provisioning.

Within Household 1 structures, several artifact groupings hint at possible fiber-coloring activities. In the storeroom a spindle whorl along with red pigment and mica had been stored in an organic container (a gourd?). Sahagún (1950–82, book 10: 73) describes a special cape, *quetzalichpetzli,* which is translated as "the shiny maguey fiber one—shiny maguey fiber of fine grade." The word *petztli* derives from the word for "pyrite," which could be metaphoric for "shiny." This particular cape is mentioned as a gift presented by merchants to honored guests at the merchants' banquet. The garment is made of "fine maguey fiber plumage glistening with mica" *(ichquequetzalli pepeiocio metzcuitlatica).* It is possible that this artifact grouping at Ceren relates to a similar function.

In the domicile a spindle whorl, miniature metate, some hematite, and some broken shells had been placed in a pot at the back of the inner room. The shell could have been ground and mixed with the pigment to produce a shiny appearance. Adhering the iron oxide mineral and the platy mica or shell to fibers is not easily done. However, Sahagún might provide a clue when he lists capes sold by merchants and says, "He sells capes of maguey fiber—clean ones, white, dough-treated—with dough applied" (1950–82, book 10: 73). Thus, a cornstarch dough could serve as a base for embedding the minerals and would be applied like papier-mâché.

Maguey Processing and Spinning

Seven complete roughed-out blanks that could have served as whorls for spinning maguey were recovered from the storeroom of Household 1. They were in a relatively inaccessible area filled with objects in storage for eventual reuse or recycling (figure 4.4). However, Household 1's inventory of in-use whorls does not include any finished perforated disks. If the finished disks were used for maguey spinning,



AREA A
AREA B
AREA C
AREA D
AREA 9
EXCAVATION LIMIT
VOLCANIC BOMB
string
METATE (BROKEN)
3 UNWORKED STONES
DONUT STONE
LAJA
DOORWAY
BE
P
OB
MT
RF
SH
P = pottery vessel
OB = obsidian implement
MT = metate
RF = roof fall
SH = sherd

Figure 4.4. Storeroom of Household 1 (Structure 6), Ceren site (after Sheets 1992: fig. 4-4). Sherd disks were recovered from Area A.

that activity was done either in a household not yet excavated or in a workshop setting outside of the domestic context.

As mentioned earlier, preparing maguey for spinning is quite labor intensive. Leaves have to be cut; spines and thorns have to be removed. Then, if the *penca asada* system is followed, the leaves would have been softened by heating and then scraped or beaten to separate fibers and flesh (Parsons and Parsons 1990: 299–302). This messy initial processing could have been done as a community-wide task not directly associated with a specific household.

One possible location for a maguey processing workshop would be in the western part of the community where Structure 13, known from a test pit, may be associated with the public building, Structure 3, and an adjacent open plaza area (see figure 4.1). Eight partial sherd disks were recovered from that test pit. Enough space would have been available for the process, and workers from different households could have cooperated in the workshop activity. The presence in each household of at least one scraper that would have been appropriate for maguey processing would suggest general participation in that part of the fiber preparation.

Nichols (2000) has determined that maguey fiber production in the urban center of the Aztec city-state of Otumba was organized differently than cotton fiber production. There cotton spinning was done within the household context, but maguey processing and spinning took place in workshops where the laborious processing tasks could be done simultaneously. Thus, there is a possible model for what occurred at Ceren. The scale of maguey fiber processing and production would have been considerably different at Ceren than at Otumba, of course. Otumba was an urban center with a diverse market economy, whereas Ceren was a small village of agriculturists. Nevertheless, a parallel in fiber production might have occurred.

Correlates of Women's Artisanal Production

A picture has emerged of women responsible not only for household provisioning but also for products that moved beyond the household. Such a dual role would have required task coordination—a factor that has been recognized when discussing household workshop pottery production because of agricultural cycles, weather effects, and so on (Arnold 1993: 70–71). Demands of cotton harvesting, storage of the harvested cotton prior to spinning, and other raw material–related concerns would have been faced by Household 1 women. Similar considerations would have affected spinners of the other fibers.

Scheduling would also have been affected by the amount of thread being produced and the demand from the weaver "consumers." No loom parts have yet been recovered at Ceren, so we do not know if the spinners were providing thread for weavers in their own community or if the thread was exported to another community.

Because the Ceren data provide essentially a synchronic view of female craft specialization, we cannot reconstruct the dynamics that led to these specializations. Nevertheless, we can examine the cotton-spinning specialization of Household 1 women in terms of a possible connection between the craft and the social role of the actors. This relates to the issue of power relations at Ceren as posed by Sweely in her analysis of the arrangements of metates within the Household 1 structures (1998, 1999: 402). While the artisanal aspect of cotton spinning could be evidence of the economic role of these women, it also could be evidence of religious-ritual roles if related to Household 1's association with Structures 10 and 12.

Several lines of evidence support the hypothesis that Household 1 may have been closely involved in the production of community festivals that took place in Structure 10. Multiple metates and hearths are located in the Household 1–Structure 10–Structure 12 area (Beaudry-Corbett, Simmons, and Tucker in press; Brown and Gerstle in press). A group of nonlocal ceramics identified by compositional analysis of paste characteristics is restricted to the same structures (Beaudry-Corbett in press). Architectural data indicate that the storeroom of Household 1 had been remodeled with the door relocated from the north to the west, providing more direct access to Structure 10 (Beaudry-Corbett, Simmons, and Tucker in press). Moreover, the Structure 10 door was relocated from the north to the west, facing Household 1.

The close proximity of a household to a specialized ceremonial structure reflects a ritual relationship as seen in the contemporary Maya *cofradia* system. In Santiago Atitlan, Guatemala, L. Brown has found that

> *cofradia* structures are always located within the household compound of the highest ranking male *(alcalde)* and female members *(xul)* who are married. One must be married to join a *cofradia* as there are ritual roles and duties for both spouses. . . . In Santiago, the proximity of a specialized ceremonial structure to a household compound is related to the rank and responsibility of certain household members, yet the production of festivals is the responsibility of a larger corporate group including people who live elsewhere. (personal communication, 1999)

At Ceren, Household 1 and Structure 10 may have been linked through such similar community responsibilities. In the prehistoric case there is further evidence to suggest that Structure 10 was a lineage house with Household 1 members related to the founding family (L. Brown, personal communication, 1999). Ethnohistorically, cotton thread was used during curing rituals for children (Sahagún 1950–82, book 2: 203), in funeral ceremonies, and in other nondomestic situations. Thread production by Household 1 spinners or by members of the same lineage that participated in activities at Structure 10 could have related to religious-ritual use rather than being the raw material for weaving.

Many of these intriguing possibilities cannot be verified or refuted for the Ceren case until more data are available. However, this exploratory study prompts us to look more deeply into "dynamics of gender relations and social constructs" (Brown 1993: 257), to challenge the stereotype that all women spun, and to guard against what Brumfiel has described for the Aztec culture: "The ethnohistoric record conspires with Western culture to encourage us to treat women's production as a nondynamic element in Aztec history, a constant to be acknowledged and then ignored in reconstructing the process of social change" (1991: 226).

Women in the Ceren community clearly were participating in both private and public spheres of production activity. Their artisanal economic roles and probable religious-ritual roles would have been negotiated with men in their own households and with both genders of other households. Thus, both men and women were visible active agents in the pre-eruption social, political, and economic dynamics of the village.

Death Became Her: Images of Female Power from Yaxuna Burials

5

TRACI ARDREN

In his 1992 distinguished lecture to the American Anthropological Association, George Cowgill asked the audience, "How much can we get away with *not* knowing about ancient ideation?" (1993: 560). As part of his critique of processual or new archaeology, Cowgill advocated careful attention to the individual and the development of the Middle Range Theory of the mind. In a similar call for greater attention to individual actors in prehistory, Ruth Tringham has described with regret the "faceless blobs" she saw when attempting to visualize the men and women of the Neolithic European village she had excavated (1991). These scholars as well as many others recently have called for our reconstructions of ancient life to be filled with a greater understanding of the role that individual variation and choice had in ancient social processes. Even archaeologists who have attempted to utilize "rational actor" approaches and see evidence of the rational choices that ancient people made in pursuit of goals often underconceptualize the past, leaving out the role of emotion, ambition, sentiment, and belief—in short, the complexity of ideation.

At the same time, Native American scholars involved in dialogue with archaeologists plead for recognition of diversity in ancient native cultures. Building on both federal legislation mandating a role for native communities of North America in cultural management and postprocessual critiques that question the right of Euro-American scholarship to present the sole voice of Native American history, native scholars now suggest ways in which the paradigm of New World archaeology can be improved to represent a more diverse and sophisticated understanding of ancient Indian history. The strong role of oral history in many native North American cultures has always allowed for the recognition of individual achievement and action in historical process. In addition, the subjects of archaeological inquiry that most interest Native Americans are those that allow for attention to individual achievement; historical events, such as the excavation of the Little Big Horn battlefield; and ceremonial traditions, wherein ideational forces such as belief and emotion manifest on an individual basis (Anyon et al. 1997; Echo-Hawk 1997; Fox 1993).

Investigation of gender relations is one of the most promising avenues for seeing archaeological remains as the outcome of conscious, knowing actors, both female and male (Nelson 1997: 15). It is difficult to avoid a tendency to essentialize and polarize gendered beings into factionalized segments of society, thus failing to grasp the individual in favor of the gender role. This is due in part to the nature of archaeological data on gender. Much of the data reflects the social reproduction of gender identities, or what has been called by Judith Butler (1990, 1993) the performance of gender, rather than an ancient person's experience of, or conceptualization of, gender identity. This is particularly true with burial data, historically considered one of the "best" sources of information about gender differences, because burials are performances for the living. As Richards says in a rich study of Anglo-Saxon burials, "Mortuary ritual reinforces cultural differences and helps classify . . . society. It provides a means of describing social identity" (1992: 135). Nevertheless, individual women and men and the choices they have made do become more visible to the archaeologist when studying gender. Questions about manipulation of power and prestige ensue from an engendered archaeology and ensure that ancient people are not viewed as dominated by ecological or technological forces beyond their control.

There is a large body of anthropological data to support the premise that gender is a primary structuring principle of societies and thus sets parameters for authority and power as well as daily activities. Gender is also a dynamic process, created and re-created by each individual actor as choices are made about how to behave based on cultural norms and individual personality. Gender dynamics is one of the best social arenas in which to see ancient people not just as objects of evolutionary or historical forces but as agents of cultural creation and perpetuation (Gero and Conkey 1991).

Human interments are one of the key areas in which archaeologists have access to both individual and cultural levels of meaning. Burials are often illustrations that reflect how individuals lived their lives as well as how they fit into their larger societies; they may reflect family as well as occupation, appearance as well as status, personal faith as well as organized religious participation. These representations are created by the living, as a performance of cultural perpetuation that is inspired by the deceased but also by the need to reestablish meaning in the face of death. When viewed as active reflections of an individual's role within greater society, burial data are a powerful means by which to decipher subtle levels of social relations, especially the difference between cultural conceptions of male and female. Because gender can be as much performance as identity, burials must be viewed with their intended audience in mind; was the funeral a public spectacle or a private affair—in what ways were the dead "actors" in a cultural reproduction of power relations?

Gender has long been recognized as an important component of prehistoric Mesoamerican culture, although relatively little research has focused on gender dynamics and its effect on individual lives. Early art historians noted the appearance of women in ceramics and carved stone (Proskouriakoff 1961; Spinden 1913), and epigraphers have long realized that kinship statements in the hieroglyphic inscriptions often claim descent through the female line (Schele, Mathews, and Lounsbury 1977), but little archaeological investigation has attempted to enter the perilous waters of engendered research until very recently (Danforth, Jacobi, and Cohen 1997; Gillespie and Joyce 1997; Haviland 1997; Hendon 1997; Joyce 1993).

In contrast, there is an impressive body of work on the role of gender in the lives of the modern Maya that spans the last thirty years and stands as a testament to the continued importance of male and female complementarity in Maya culture (Gossen 1974; Nash 1970; etc.). Christine Eber and Brenda Rosenbaum summarize a pattern found by many researchers when they report statements by highland Maya who said that "the ideal household relations demonstrate fidelity in marriage and complementarity between sexes and generations" (1993: 163). Eber and Rosenbaum report that, in the village of Chenalho, female earth and male sun receive equal veneration and men and women have strong marriage ties based on separate but complementary responsibilities. Concurrent with this egalitarian ideology is a strong patriarchal aspect that positions men to be the ultimate authorities in the public sector and leaves women subject to the individual abuses of male power that may occur (Nash 1997). Similar patterns of patriarchal relations juxtaposed with an ideology of equality exist throughout the Maya area.

Many continuities have been documented in women's daily activities in the Maya area from prehistoric through colonial and into modern times (Farriss 1984). Ethnohistoric records from Spanish chroniclers report that the domestic lives of women were consumed with household care, child care, food production, the raising of small animals, gardening, and weaving (Tozzer 1941: 127). These same activities continue to characterize women's lives, although obviously today these activities intersect with a modern market economy and many women are also involved in the sale of goods or labor. The explanatory power of ethnographic analogy is substantial in the Maya area, especially given the perception of continuity held by the Maya themselves. But the effects of Spanish/European colonization are also unmistakable and cautionary for engendered analysis.

Yaxuna

Burials from the ancient Maya site of Yaxuna, in Yucatán, Mexico, provide a valuable window into ancient female life and death. Yaxuna is a Classic period Maya city located in the heart of the Yucatán peninsula only twenty kilometers from the urban sprawl of ancient Chichén Itzá. Yaxuna has a long occupational history dating from the Middle Preclassic or approximately 500 B.C.E. through the Postclassic period or 1250 C.E., and the ancient center is adjacent to a modern village of Yucatec Maya who live and farm alongside the ruins (Suhler, Ardren, and Johnstone 1998). Fieldwork was conducted at Yaxuna over a period of ten years from 1986 to 1996, and analysis of the burial material is ongoing (Ambrosino et al. 1995, 1996; Ardren et al. 1994; Freidel, Suhler, and Cobos 1992; Freidel, Suhler, and Krochock 1990; Suhler and Freidel 1993).

Almost one-third ($n = 13$) of the forty-two individuals excavated from archaeological contexts at Yaxuna have been identified as female on the basis of biological characteristics. When cultural characteristics are utilized for those skeletons too poorly preserved to identify on the basis of biological features, the sample is twenty-two female individuals, or over 50 percent. These interments derive almost equally from tombs and common households, from both the Early Classic and Late to Terminal Classic periods, and are rich in grave goods (figure 5.1). All skeletal material was thoroughly analyzed by project osteologist Sharon Bennett (1994) during the course of fieldwork from 1991 to 1994. The analysis presented here draws on her excellent work and the contextual analyses of the two other directors of the Yaxuna project in addition to myself, David Freidel and Charles Suhler (1998). No prior analysis has focused on the dynamics of gender relations in the burial record of Yaxuna.

The corpus of human remains from Yaxuna consists of a large body of residential burials ($n = 29$), found beneath floors of simple living structures dating to the Late to Terminal Classic period, and a smaller sample ($n = 13$) from two royal tombs dating to the Early Classic period, one of which contained the remains of twelve individuals. Continuities exist between these two groups, although they are separated by a span of over 300 years in some cases.

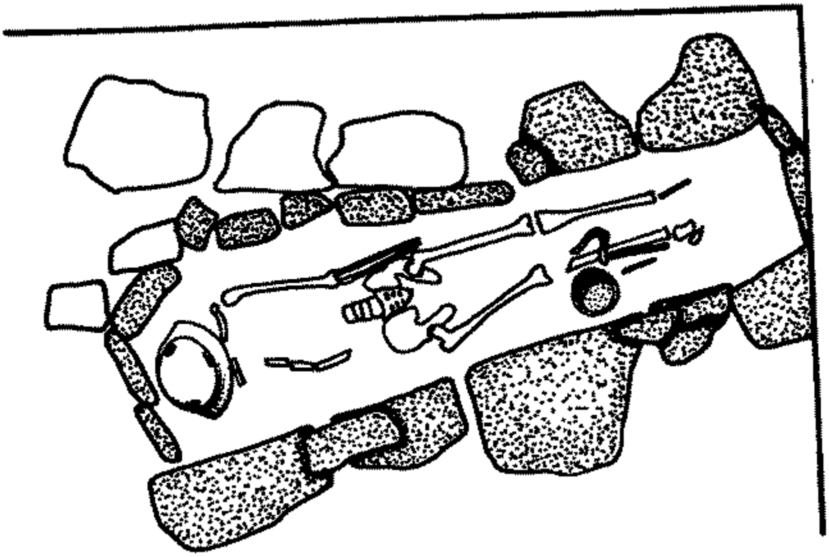


Figure 5.1. Terminal Classic residential burial (B15) at Yaxuna.

Women's Health

As documented by a growing number of isotopic bone studies from materials excavated in the Maya area, issues of health and nutrition crosscut social distinctions at most Maya sites, and Yaxuna is consistent with this pattern (White 1999; Whittington and Reed 1997). Although an isotopic analysis of the Yaxuna burial sample is still in progress, visual identification of pathologies has suggested a number of patterns reflective of the general state of health and nutrition at the site. As in most osteological collections from the Maya area, preservation was generally poor, and approximately one-half of the forty-two individuals' specimens could not be analyzed for pathologies. Given this situation it is tempting to abandon visual analysis as statistically unrepresentative. However, if Mayanists uniformly decided to study only perfect collections, the field of bioarchaeology would not have made the dramatic progress demonstrated in publications today (Danforth, Jacobi, and Cohen 1997; Whittington and Reed 1997; etc.). Estimations of frequencies for various pathologies in the Yaxuna population have therefore been attempted, with the understanding that, if anything, these frequencies will have been underestimated because of problems of preservation.

In general the ancient population of Yaxuna appears to have been relatively healthy, with lower incidences of nutritional deficiencies than in many other Maya sites. This is in agreement with current studies that suggest that some smaller centers had comparatively better health, presumably because there were more resources available to the population and better sanitation (Danforth 1997). One example of these findings is at Barton Ramie, where Danforth has examined the dramatic differences in the health of this smaller center compared with that of the urban center of Tikal, where the evidence shows that both childhood nutritional stress and anemia were much higher (1997: 136). Caries are the most common pathology suffered by agricultural people around the world, and in the Maya area they were caused by a diet high in plant carbohydrates (maize). At Yaxuna, 21.4 percent of the analyzable population had gumline or surface caries, which are generally common in the Maya area and are often quite pervasive—experienced by 50 percent of the population at Colha (Massey and Steele 1997: 64) and 81.5 percent of the population at Tipu (Danforth, Jacobi, and Cohen 1997: 18). At Yaxuna, twice as many female specimens as male specimens had carious lesions, a pattern also found at Tipu, Cuello, Altar de Sacrificios, and Lubantun (Danforth, Jacobi, and Cohen 1997: 18). One explanation for this is that consistent exposure of the teeth to carbohydrates is more important to the formation of caries than the overall amount of carbohydrates consumed; thus, women probably ate maize more frequently over the course of the day than men did (Reed 1998: 69). This might have occurred if ancient women spent much of the day preparing food, especially processing maize, as has been suggested.

A corollary to the above is new consistent evidence from isotopic studies that women ate less maize as an overall percentage of lifetime diet than men did in ancient Maya cities (White 1997; Whittington and Reed 1997; Wright 1997). This evidence seems to support the model that women were involved in food preparation and procurement activities that might have brought them in contact with nonmaize foods to make up for decreased maize intake. Some scholars have suggested that this might have been "healthier" for women, although other evidence contradicts this. Certainly maize was a prestigious food in ancient Mesoamerica, so a relative lack of access seems to carry with it an indication of diminished status. Worldwide women often restrict their own access to high-status foods (especially proteins) in deference to male relatives because of processes of enculturation that link food, status, and gender.

Life expectancy was shorter for women than for men in the Yaxuna sample; though all seem to have died of natural causes, there is no evidence of a woman living beyond thirty-five years, and a number of men appear to have lived to be over forty-five years. Few studies have separated mortality rates by gender, but a life expectancy of twenty-five to thirty-five years seems common in archaeological populations of the Maya area (Chase 1997; Cohen et al. 1997). As in most ancient populations in Mesoamerica, females were smaller in stature at Yaxuna. This may or may not reflect diminished access to nutrition in childhood; there is debate about the overall effect of nutrition on stature (Marquez and del Angel 1997). Other evidence suggests relative gender equality in childhood, as the incidence of enamel hypoplasias is equal in the male and female population of ancient Yaxuna. Caused by malnutrition, enamel hypoplasias is a linear marking in tooth enamel that records an episode of critical malnutrition. It is common in the Maya area, peaking between the ages of three to five and reaching rates of 60 percent for the population at Cuello (Saul and Saul 1997: 34). The incidence of hypoplasias at Yaxuna is only 14.2 percent, although this is probably low because of bone preservation issues. Because incidents of enamel hypoplasias peak at the age of weaning, as recorded by ethnohistoric accounts, there is evidence that male and female children were nursed for the same amount of time and given the same nutritional advantages in infancy. One author has suggested that the equal appearance of hypoplasias incidence masks the effect of female biological buffering and male children could indeed have been given greater access to resources, as is common in many patrilineal societies (Danforth 1997: 135). Furthermore, the incidence of enamel hypoplasias is higher in female specimens at many Maya centers such as Cuello, Altar de Sacrificios, Barton Ramie, and Copan (Danforth, Jacobi, and Cohen 1997; Saul and Saul 1997; Whittington 1991).

Finally, at Yaxuna we have a very low incidence (2.3 percent) of porotic hyperostosis in the ancient population. This pathology is characterized by thinning, pores, and even lesions on the interior of the skull and is caused by various forms of anemia, especially iron deficiency. When consumed, maize interferes with the digestion and absorption of iron, and thus anemia is a common aliment in ancient (as well as modern) Maya populations. There is also the possibility that anemia was caused by intestinal parasites such as hookworm (Whittington and Reed 1997: 164). At Copan, the incidence of porotic hyperostosis reached 64 percent, and at Altar de Sacrificios it reached 89.5 percent; in both cases it was clearly higher in the female population (Danforth, Jacobi, and Cohen 1997: 17; Whittington and Reed 1997: 167). At other Maya sites the rate of anemia is much higher in the male population, especially at Postclassic sites such as Tipu and Lamanai (Danforth, Jacobi, and Cohen 1997: 17; White 1988).

Both men and women practiced cultural cranial shaping at Yaxuna (23.8 percent of analyzable specimens), with no discernable differences in style, although women were twice as likely as men to have modified craniums. Both men and women modified their teeth with filing, although men were the only ones to inlay their teeth with precious stones, usually hematite and jade. Olivares also found inlays only in the male population of her skeletal sample from several Peten sites (1997: 112).

These lines of evidence seem to indicate differential access to food for lower status men and women and that women may have suffered nutritional stress on a regular basis throughout their lives. Some of this was undoubtedly from childbearing and lactation, but other evidence suggests that women may have had less access to important foods like maize from early childhood. The effect of this surely was more than physiological—if from childhood female children were taught to defer their nutritional needs to those of their brothers and fathers, a form of psychological subjugation must have occurred through which women internalized (literally) their second-class status. Personal body modification was also practiced differentially; aesthetic ideals of beauty were twice as likely to dictate that female infants be subjected to cranial modification. Men had greater access to trade items like hematite for dental adornment, although elite women practiced dental inlays at this time, so this was not a gender-specific behavior. The combined evidence suggests a hierarchy of access with nonelite women at the bottom, nonelite men slightly more advantaged, and elite women and men at the top.

Artifacts and Gender

Although skeletal studies provide an excellent window into the individual experiences of women and men in ancient cultures, it is only through coupling this with an analysis of burial grave goods that cultural conceptions of gender (as distinct from sex) begin to appear. Numerous studies have shown that biological sex is not always the most salient feature in determining behavior in life and consequently in death as well (Lucy 1999; etc.). The relationship among gender, sex, and grave goods is a complex one and must be investigated, not assumed. An analysis of the symbolism of grave goods, as opposed to a purely functional interpretation, has proven to be a useful approach. Harke studied the Anglo-Saxon burial rite and has demonstrated that the symbolism of grave goods is often more significant than their "function": "Neither the ability to fight nor the experience of fighting were relevant for the decision as to who was buried with, or without, weapons" (1992: 153). Because burials are rituals of cultural creation and perpetuation, their language is often one of dominant social norms and values. In the Maya area, the same cultural conservatism that appears in the artistic and linguistic traditions is also evident in burial patterns. Kings were often buried in a formulaic manner that dictated the types of personal adornments and burial goods, as well as their placements around the body. When it comes to expressions of gender ideology, lower status individuals were no less beholden to culturally dictated ideals.

Significant patterns appear within the corpus of mortuary artifacts from Yaxuna. Men were buried with a greater diversity of grave items, which often reflected their occupations as warriors, shamans, or healers, whereas female burials exhibit a much more uniform set of burial objects. Each juvenile female ($n = 7$) was found with a marine shell pendant in the pelvic area (figure 5.2), a practice described in the ethnohistoric records as a symbol of purity removed at marriage (Tozzer 1941: 106). *Spondylus* shells are ubiquitous in ancient Maya caches and represent the primordial power of the sea; their appearance in female burials may represent an explicit connection between such power and its obvious link to reproduction. It may be significant that *spondylus* bivalves are part of the Xoc monster belt worn by the Maize God, an important deity with "third gender" or mixed-gender attributes (Looper, this volume). The bivalve shell is worn in the pelvic area by the Maize God along with a "feminine" jade net skirt, as a symbol of his rebirth and transformation in the Underworld. The net skirt represents the surface of the earth, and the bivalve represents the Underworld or primordial ocean that surrounds the earth. In both of these costume elements we see an appropriation of traditionally "female" apparel by a deity who represents the regenerative power of the plant world. This iconography supports an interpretation of the marine shell pendants as indicators of reproductive power.

Women of all ages were more likely than men to be buried with ceramic vessels in the residential sample from Yaxuna. In part this reflects the higher number of males sacrificed or buried under unusual conditions. Most of the female interments include at least one and up to three whole ceramic vessels that are

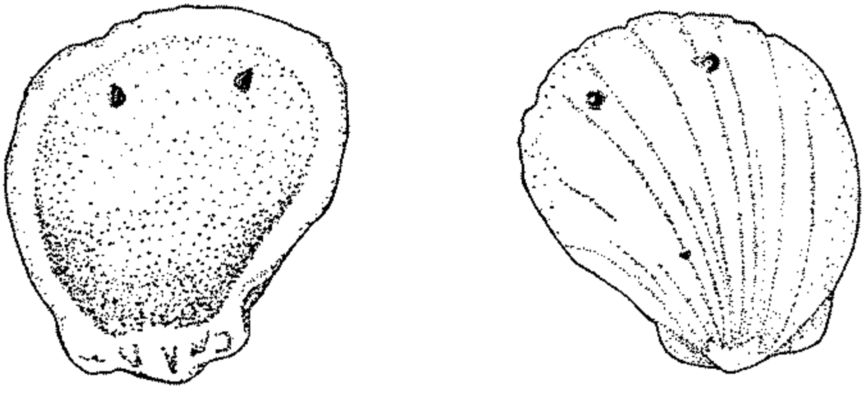


Figure 5.2. Marine shell pendant in residential burial (B2) at Yaxuna.

often decorated with iconographic symbols associated with elite status such as the woven mat or *pop* motif and the *ik* or portal sign (figure 5.3). Funerary vessels were not just passive offerings during Classic period times; they are now understood to represent points of contact between the living and the dead, portals for continued interaction and spiritual power (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993). The frequency with which women were interred with these artifacts suggests the importance of the female dead as representatives of ancestral or lineage power to descendants of all economic levels.

The mortuary connection between women and fine ceramic vessels raises the question of women's economic roles as producers of ceramic wares. There is debate over which segments of society were responsible for ancient ceramic production and whether ceramic specialization was a full- or part-time activity. Most research in the Maya area suggests that ceramic production occurred at the household level and was not done by itinerant specialists or in factories as elsewhere in

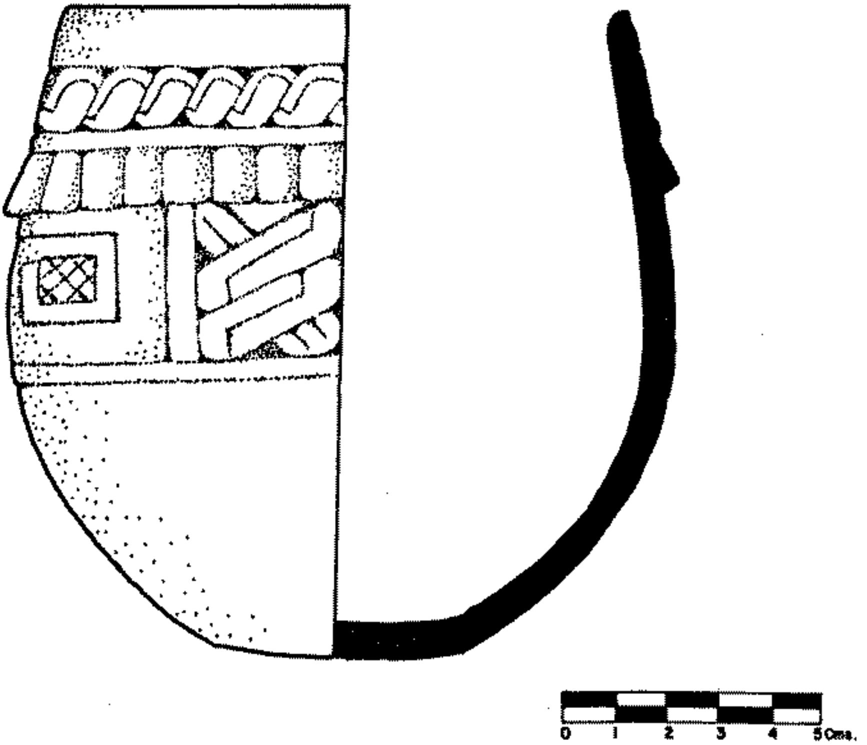


Figure 5.3. Terminal Classic ceramic vessel from residential burial (B6) at Yaxuna.

the ancient world (Bey and Pool 1992; Stark 1985). Household production involved many steps such as clay mining, temper griding, shaping, firing, and painting the vessels, all of which may have been done by various family members. Nevertheless, ethnographic accounts of Maya pottery production usually describe the primary potter as the one who forms the vessel, and today this role is filled primarily by women in highland communities and by both men and women in the lowlands (Nash 1993; Reina and Hill 1978; Thompson 1958). Recent decipherments have shown that in prehistory elite members of both genders were artists and scribes, for the *ah k'u hun* or "keeper of books" title is associated with several female names at Yaxchilan and the *ah tsi'ib* or "he of writing" title is used to describe both a woman and a man at Naranjo (Coe and Kerr 1997: 99). Both titles appear to be gender blind despite the *ah* or male proclitic. These decipherments call into question Clark and Houston's (1998: 37) assertion that women did not make pots when the Spanish arrived. The authors argue that there is no term with a female agentive found for *potter* in Spanish colonial dictionaries. An obvious problem with this hypothesis, beyond the possibility that certain artistic positions had gender-blind titles, is the likelihood that the Spanish were interested in, or had access to, household areas of production. It seems quite likely that the Spanish might not have "seen" women involved in serious economic activities such as ceramic production because the cultural lenses through which they viewed Maya society were trained on European models of gender-appropriate activities. Given the documented role of women in ceramic production today, and the presence of high-status women artists in antiquity, the regular appearance of multiple ceramic vessels in the Yaxuna female burials may be closely tied to women's productive roles in ancient society or to the conception of gender-appropriate offerings for female ancestral power.

Finally, the presence of deer tibia or long bones was noted in over one-half of the female burials at Yaxuna, especially those of adult females, but not in male burials. Usually deer bone was placed along the lower half of a woman's body, near the area where shell pendants are often found. These elements together suggest a symbolic emphasis on women's reproductive capabilities. A number of lines of evidence suggest that deer and women may have been linked in an economic and symbolic capacity.

Deer often appear with women in images from the Classic Maya codex-style funerary vases that portray bits and pieces of a still undeciphered mythological cycle (Robicsek and Hales 1981). In some scenes they are being herded or led in and out of palace areas; in other scenes a woman rides a deer (figure 5.4). In most cases the deer appear as large or larger than the female actors, highlighting their

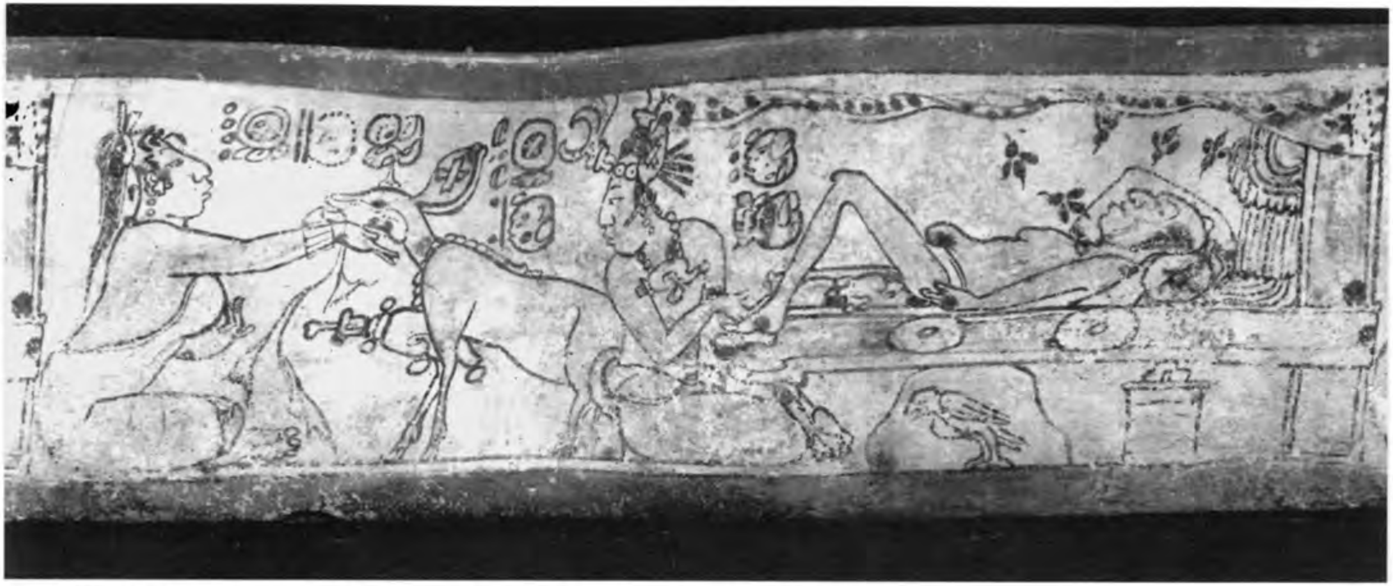


Figure 5.4. Classic Maya vase with palace scene of woman, deer, and old God. Copyright © Justin Kerr 1985.

central role in the composition and suggesting mythological deer or at least the symbolic importance of deer.

Deer also feature prominently in the *Popul Vuh,* a sixteenth-century native Maya cosmological myth, in which they are the first creatures of the forest made by the divine mother-father, before jaguars or even humans (D. Tedlock 1985: 296). Deer were the preeminent ritual sacrifice in the northern Maya lowlands, necessary for certain annual calendrical rituals, and shared a close association with humans when it came to sacrifice (Pohl 1983: 62). In the Postclassic codex Bodley of Oaxaca, a female deity appears with a deer leg as part of her name, and the word *sii* refers to both "leg of an animal" and "grandmother/female deity" in Oaxaca today (Pohl and Byland 1990: 164).

Landa notes that ancient female figurines found on Isla Mujeres occasionally had the faces of deer while a haunch of venison was said to be the most common offering to the gods (Tozzer 1941: 9, 141). Landa also observes that Maya women would tame wild fawns and bring them into the household compound, even suckling the youngest animals (Tozzer 1941: 127). A parallel practice may be demonstrated in figurines found at Altar de Sacrificios and Lubantun that show women suckling small animals (Willey 1972: fig. 34 and Gann 1928: 245, cited in Pohl and Byland 1990: 165). The habit of taking a wild-born fawn into the home continued into historic times (Carr 1996: 256).

Many studies have demonstrated the central importance of deer meat to the ancient Maya diet, both as a good source of protein in a plant-rich diet and as the most frequent faunal remain in middens throughout the Maya area (Carr 1996; Pohl and Byland 1990; Shaw 1999; White 1999). One study demonstrates that venison represented 90 percent of all animal meat consumed (as represented by preserved bone) during the Late Classic period at Seibal (Pohl 1976: 155). Processed deer meat was even imported in coastal sites such as Isla Cerritos (Carr 1996: 255). Given the increased infringement of Classic period human populations on the large open areas of savanna needed to support wild deer populations, scholars have suggested that deer may have been raised by women within household compounds, much as turkeys and pigs are kept today (Gerry 1993; Pohl 1983).

This practice may be supported by the presence of deer remains with adult female burials at Yaxuna. If deer had actually been bred or kept in pens, and there is still no morphological evidence to suggest this, it might have been an activity of such economic importance that it would have occurred outside the home or in the hands of specialists. Precisely because deer were not fully domesticated but, rather, opportunistically raised in the household compound, they retained a close association with the economic lives of women. Although there are examples from the ceramic corpus of men hunting wild deer, there is also ample evidence that deer may have been nurtured in the household, much as children were. Women raised deer, but men killed deer. These contradictory economic activities are a reflection of the central importance and sacredness of deer, which, as the preeminent ritual substitution for humans as well as the primary source of dietary meat, had distinct but complementary capacities in Maya gendered activities. Within the gender conception represented in the symbolic arena of burials, the reproductive power of women may have extended to other "offspring," such as deer.

The portrait of the lives of women from the residential burials is not a particularly dynamic one, for very few patterns appear to change in this small sample, but relevant information about the conception of gender roles as well as the reality of power sharing does emerge. A record of poor health and early death, probably because of unequal access to sufficient nutrition, is coupled with a very consistent mortuary complex that suggests that women were unable or unwilling to vary from the cultural norm for their burials. Ancient Maya women of modest economic means went into the afterlife with few personal items that would have distinguished them from one another—for example, jewelry, which may have been given to children. Even very young females were brought into a symbol complex that included a strong emphasis on the reproductive cycle and perhaps fertility and kinship. This symbol complex may be equally tied to women's economic power during their lifetimes, as possible producers of pottery, shell ornaments, or semidomesticated deer.

Royal Women

A complementary body of data exists from two excavated royal tombs from Yaxuna (Suhler 1996). Tomb I is a traditional Classic Maya interment of a king and his official regalia. This individual seems to have died of natural causes after a healthy lifetime. The second tomb is very different and represents the violent termination or assassination of the king's remaining family. This tomb includes the remains of twelve individuals: a central decapitated elderly man surrounded by ten women, children, and elders. The floor of the tomb was covered with the burned remains of an ancestor bundle, a highly revered object within Maya culture. Flanking the elderly king were two young women, both of whom wore royal jade and shell jewels in the style of the king from Tomb I (figure 5.5). One of these women was pregnant or had just given birth, and the skeleton of this newborn was found amid her ribcage. The other young woman was twenty to twenty-five years old but had apparently not given birth, and she held an elaborate female ceramic figurine in her arms. This woman was associated with more grave goods

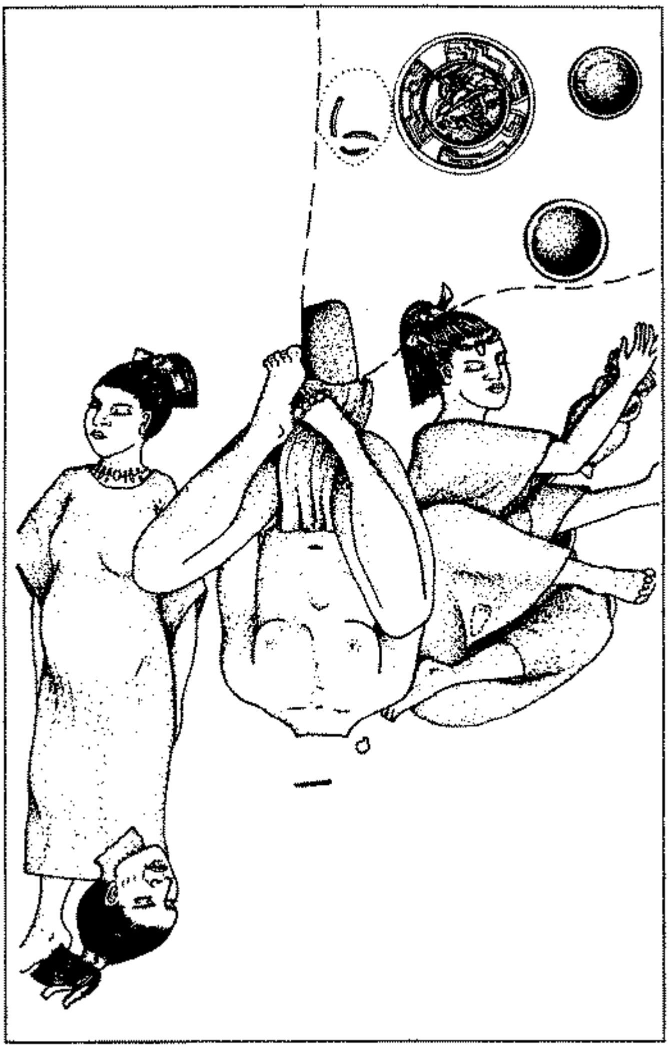


Figure 5.5. Reconstruction of principal occupants of Tomb 2 at Yaxuna. © Graciela Rodriguez/Raices/INAH 2001.

than any of the other eleven individuals, including the decapitated king. She represented the only heir apparent and thus seems to have inherited many of the elite items usually associated with male rulers.

Also executed and placed in this tomb were another elderly man wrapped in a semibundled state and covered in cinnabar, a woman over forty who had borne many children and may have been the queen, two children aged seven to twelve years, and an adult of indeterminate sex who was perhaps a servant or retainer. A second older woman of thirty-five to forty-five years who had also borne children was the only individual placed into the tomb with any sign of care—she was placed on a bed of powdered limestone and bundled tightly. This may have been the second wife of the decapitated king, perhaps a woman with ties to the usurpers who carried out this familial sacrifice.

Tomb 2 has been interpreted as a ritual sacrifice or termination of the ruling lineage at Yaxuna (Freidel and Suhler 1998; Suhler and Freidel 1998). Various lines of evidence suggest that individual Maya cities were ruled by sets of competing lineages, perhaps up to four families who lived in association with one another and constantly jockeyed for power and actual kingship (Schele and Freidel 1990). These kinship groups may have had separate economic affiliations, especially the primary or ruling family, who would have controlled the bulk of available wealth and labor from a site. At Yaxuna, after the king died and was buried in Tomb 1, the king from Tomb 2 appears to have ruled, perhaps just long enough to complete a structural renovation over Tomb 1 before he was captured, decapitated, and entombed with the rest of his family. The artifacts from Tomb 2 are a unique fusion of local Yaxuna style elements as found in the first tomb and new artifacts, especially ceramics, known from the western Puuc area and the site of Oxkintok. Some of these foreign elements exhibit a distinct iconographic link to the ancient central Mexican city of Teotihuacan, which exerted considerable stylistic and ideological influence on the Maya world during the Early Classic period (see Bell, this volume). These unusual signature vessels were left by the usurpers as a statement of their power and newly acquired control of the site, a practice found at other Maya cities when violent sacrifice of a royal family was conducted (Suhler 1996).

Noticeably absent from the occupants of Tomb 2 is a male heir to the kingship. As stated above, the central figure and probable king was quite old by Yaxuna standards and immobilized by arthritic disease. This situation is key to understanding the dynamics of the royal sacrifice; two young women wore the jewels of royalty in this tomb, and one of these young women was buried with more grave goods than any other family member. This individual appears to be the daughter of the elderly king, perhaps the heir apparent in the absence of a son. She has a set of enema vessels identical to those of the king in Tomb 1 and a headdress that includes an enema tube and elaborately carved weaving pin, and she wears a shell pendant in the pelvic area with no physical evidence of having borne children. Her legs had been defleshed prior to internment, an indication of the extreme violence with which she was dispatched and a probable indication of her perceived threat to the usurpers. This princess was probably preparing to inherit the throne of Yaxuna or to be married to an eligible elite man and pass the rule on to him through marriage alliance. Such alliances were common in ancient Maya culture and are well documented in the hieroglyphic corpus (Schele, Mathews, and Lounsbury 1977).

The princess also held a ceramic figurine known as La Muñeca (figure 5.6; see also the cover), which was placed in her arms, after she was deposited in the tomb (Bennett 1994). La Muñeca is a unique example of artistic syncretism, merging elements of northern lowland iconography and ceramic manufacture with

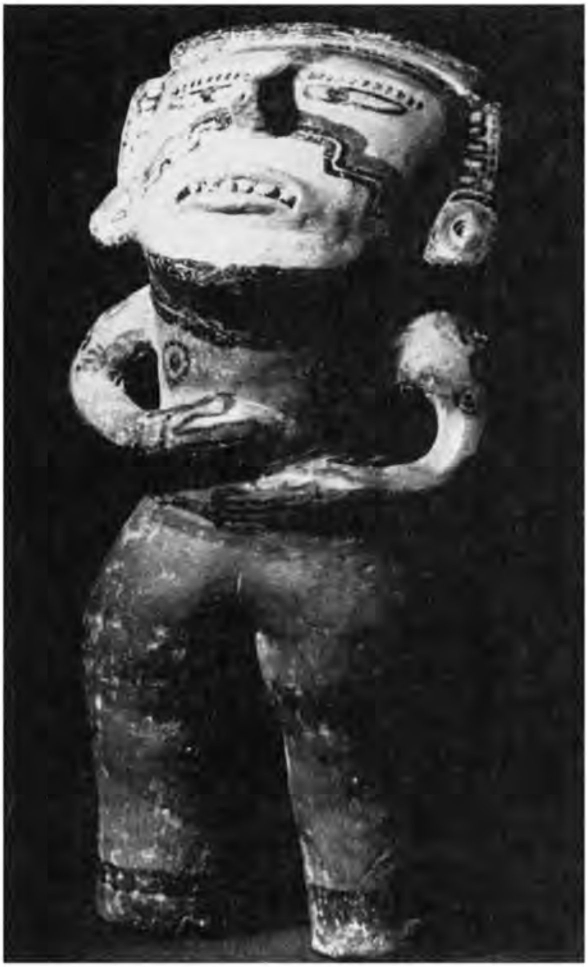


Figure 5.6. Ceramic figurine, "La Muñeca," from Tomb 2 at Yaxuna. © Jeanne L. Randall, 2001.

design elements from Teotihuacan and the western Puuc area. Very few hollow ceramic figurines have been found in ancient Maya tombs, especially ones of the size and complexity of La Muñeca. Her face is pie shaped, like images of the human head from Teotihuacan, with a broad forehead and narrow eyes. She is clearly female, with breasts and long hair. Her face and arms are tattooed with symbols of female gender derived from Teotihuacan, although they are not associated with a specific deity. These symbols seem to be associated with adult female imagery at Teotihuacan, and La Muñeca is not meant to portray an infant or baby as much as mature female power (Berlo 1984). Most importantly, La Muñeca is an abstract, depersonalized human image at a time when Classic Maya art was concerned with the portrayal of specific individuals. For this reason it evokes the symbolic authority of Teotihuacan.

Yet this figurine was clearly manufactured in the northern lowlands because its paste, slip, and firing technique are consistent with the Early Classic tradition of polychromes known from the region. For this reason we are confident that La Muñeca was made locally or perhaps at Oxkintok, where numerous examples of similar imagery from Teotihuacan such as "talud-tablero" architecture have been found. Joe Ball has written convincingly about the nature of "homologies" or Maya imitations of Teotihuacanoid material culture (1983: 126). Ball notes that the vast majority of Teotihuacanoid artifacts found in the Maya area are from mortuary contexts and in association with a high-status individual. He suggests that such goods would have to appear in domestic or refuse contexts to demonstrate large-scale importation and thus their use was largely symbolic and indicates "socioceremonial ties" between elites of both areas (1983: 131). Michael Spence suggests that imitation by local Maya of Teotihuacanoid objects is evidence that the symbolic function of these artifacts was more important than the real point of origin (1996: 28). Throughout the Maya area during the Early Classic period, certain elite families were claiming legitimization through the use of Teotihuacanoid iconography and statements of descent. La Muñeca was placed with the princess by the usurpers as a symbolic statement of control and appropriation. La Muñeca's obvious connection to female power, especially ancestral as opposed to exclusively reproductive power, seems to convey the domination of a new lineage after the deliberate termination of the princess's potential to assume a new level of authority within her kin group.

The younger princess had just given birth, an event that may have been the impetus for the Tomb 2 sacrifice. Her young age at motherhood, twelve to fifteen years, while not unknown in the Maya area, suggests a certain desperation to produce an heir by a lineage that was vulnerable because of its lack of young male members. Hieroglyphic inscriptions demonstrate that eligibility to rule was normally passed from father to son and was interrupted when a competing lineage seized control of the throne by capturing a king. In certain unusual cases women appear to have assumed the throne; this only occurred when there was no suitable male present or when the heir was too young and his mother ruled as regent (Ardren 1988).

Certain continuities in gender representation exist between the largely Terminal Classic residential burials and the Early Classic tomb sample. On the material level, elite women shared with their nonelite sisters compromised health caused by poor diet and long-term nutritional stress. The elite male skeletons ($n = 3$) were more robust and showed less evidence of nutritional stress, although the older male population seems to have suffered more arthritis. Both men and women in the elite sample practiced cranial modification and had filed and inlaid teeth. Men and women had relatively equal access to prestige items like jade and marine shell beads, although, as with the residential population, only males were interred with obsidian.

On the ideological level of gender conceptualization, elite women shared power with male members of society, as evidenced in the distribution of royal jewels and trade wares. Besides the early king from Tomb 1, the two princesses from Tomb 2 had the most diverse and elaborate grave goods. This shared power had predictable and negative consequences for the royal women; they were equal targets of the cruel torture and sacrifice practiced by the creators of Tomb 2. Indeed, the young princesses and their probable mother were particularly brutalized in this violent event. The elderly king and his possible first wife were decapitated, whereas one young woman had her skull crushed, and another, her legs stripped of flesh. This particular attention to the young women underscores the usurpers concern with their positions of lineal power as well as the reproductive potential they embodied.

Rosemary Joyce has argued that Classic Maya monuments express a gender dichotomy that emphasizes male–female complementarity (1996a: 169). Images of both men and women are portrayed in complementary ritual activity, which for female protagonists includes references to their roles in cloth production and maize preparation (Joyce 1996a: 178). The ideology produced by these images stresses that no man or woman can be complete without the other, with "man" and "woman" defined more by actions than by biology.

Similarly, epigraphers Linda Schele and Peter Mathews (1998) have commented that Classic Maya claims to authority were based on a system of ideological complementarity in most cases. Writing about the inscriptions and architecture of Palenque, Schele and Mathews describe how the new king, Kan-Balam, used multiple images of both his mother and his father, often dressed in the costume of the mythical First Mother and First Father, to represent his most significant claims to authority (1998: 99). At the level of elite propaganda, complementarity was appropriate and even necessary to fully legitimize a claim to kingship.

The Yaxuna burials seem to reflect this concern with ideological gender complementarity, although they caution against a simplistic conclusion that all women were equal with men, and they expose the common disjunction between cultural conceptions of gender and those of sex. Clearly, women at all levels of ancient Yaxuna society went into the afterlife with material objects that reflected more than individual choice. The uniformity of grave goods at the residential level, where the complex of marine shell girdle, deer bones, and ceramic vessels is repeated throughout the female population, seems to indicate a message about the productive potential of women within Maya society. To return to Cowgill's and Tringham's request for analysis of individual motivation, in Tomb 2 we see the brutal result of female participation in the royal power of descent groups. The princesses of Tomb 2 went into death embodying the power of their lineage, dressed in precious jewels and symbols of female power, and with the knowledge that their family's future claims to Yaxuna died with them.

Conclusion

Our understanding of the ideology of gender complementarity apparently at work in Classic Maya times must be tempered with the very real data generated by careful skeletal analysis. At Yaxuna, both elite and nonelite levels, women had more nutritional stress and greater evidence of compromised health throughout their lives. Women died of natural causes at a younger age and lived with the strain of reproductive demands and subsequent infant mortality. A contextual analysis of the symbolism found in female burials suggests that individual personality was obscured in favor of a formalized emphasis on regenerative power, which women may have been encouraged to manifest on physical, familial, household, and societal levels. This cultural emphasis may explain the particularly brutal treatment of the women in Tomb 2. The Yaxuna burial data demand recognition of a separate ideology of gender, one that placed women at higher risk throughout their lives. Perhaps as in many societies, the ideology of power operated at a level that barely impacted daily life but was primarily visible in symbolic and ritualized realms such as human interments.

Note

Acknowledgments. I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Bernard Selz Foundation, which enabled much of the fieldwork and analysis presented in this essay. Many scholars have read or commented on earlier versions of this work and contributed greatly to its final form. I wish to thank some of them: George J. Bey III, Tara Bond-Freeman, David Freidel, Scott Hutson, Keith Jacobi, Eugenia Mansell, Sarah Nelson, Cynthia Robin, Travis Stanton, Charles Suhler, Karl Taube, and Rita Wright. I retain for myself all responsibility for errors of interpretation.

6

Engendering a Dynasty: A Royal Woman in the Margarita Tomb, Copan

ELLEN E. BELL

THE RELATIVELY LIMITED MENTION of female protagonists in Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions has historically led to a biased understanding of women's roles in the establishment and maintenance of political power at Maya centers (but see Josserand, this volume, for new analyses). In this chapter I examine the possible role of one woman in this process at the Classic Maya center of Copan, Honduras.

In contrast to many studies in this and other volumes (Gero and Conkey 1991; Joyce and Claassen 1997; Scott 1994; Wright 1996), this discussion focuses on a single woman and cannot easily be expanded to encompass the lives, roles, and experiences of the vast majority of Maya women, either now or in the past. It does allow, however, for the examination of the possible role of one woman as a social and political actor whose deeds shaped the history of an entire polity. Just as it is becoming possible to write the biographies of the men who guided the Copan polity during the Classic period based on the dates, actions, and actors recorded in the hieroglyphic inscriptions they commissioned, so too can the histories of women who are not mentioned in the texts be recovered through the study of nontextual, archaeological evidence. Although the textual record at Copan does not provide equivalent information for the elite men and women who shaped the political center, the remains of both are present in the archaeological record, along with the burial offerings that accompanied them, the masonry chambers in which they were interred, and the shrines and other structures that were built to encase their tombs. The examination of these elements, as well as the relationships among them, provides information that allows us to begin to understand the roles of those who are not mentioned in the texts.

The Classic Maya Center of Copan, Honduras

Located in what is now western Honduras, Copan enjoys an extensive hieroglyphic and iconographic corpus, much of which is dedicated to chronicling its dynastic history. The center and its surrounding settlement have been the subject of archaeological investigation since the beginning of the last century (Agurcia Fasquelle 2000; Andrews and Fash 1992; Ashmore 1991; Baudez 1983; Fash 1991; Gordon 1896; Longyear 1952; Maudslay 1886; Morley 1920; Sanders 1986; Sharer et al. 1999a; Stromsvik 1941; Willey and Leventhal 1979; Willey et al. 1994). Building on earlier work, the University of Pennsylvania Early Copan Acropolis Program (of which I am a member) was begun in 1989 by Robert J. Sharer with the explicit objective of understanding the architectural sequence and substantiating the hieroglyphic record through excavations within the site core. Tunneling excavations within the Acropolis, the accumulated mass of over 400 years of superimposed constructions, have exposed a series of structures, monuments, and ritual deposits with formal, iconographic, and hieroglyphic attributes that associate them with the founding and maintenance of sociopolitical authority within the polity during the Early Classic period, 400–600 C.E.

The political history of the center is detailed on a number of monuments located in the site core, including the Hieroglyphic Staircase on the western face of Structure 10L-26 and Altar Q, a freestanding stone monument located at the base of Structure 10L-16 (figure 6.1). Carvings on the sides of this monument depict the founder and his fifteen successors, while the inscription on the top of the stone describes events related to the founding of the dynasty (Schele 1989; Stuart 2000b). This monument and others bearing similar accounts provide a description of events that has been supported, if not corroborated, by archaeological investigations beneath the Acropolis (Sharer, Miller, and Traxler 1992; Sharer et al. 1999a; Sharer et al. 1999b).

The Altar Q inscription records the installation of the dynastic founder, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', as the ruler of Copan. Named as simply "K'uk' Mo' Ahaw," he took the *k'awil* scepter (a symbol of rulership) on 5 September 426 C.E. and then entered the *wi te nal* (the Root Tree or Foundation House) as king, using his full name, three days later. The founding sequence ends with the arrival of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' at Ox Witik (the Three Mountain Place), a name commonly used for Copan, over five months later (Martin and Grube 2000; Stuart 2000a,

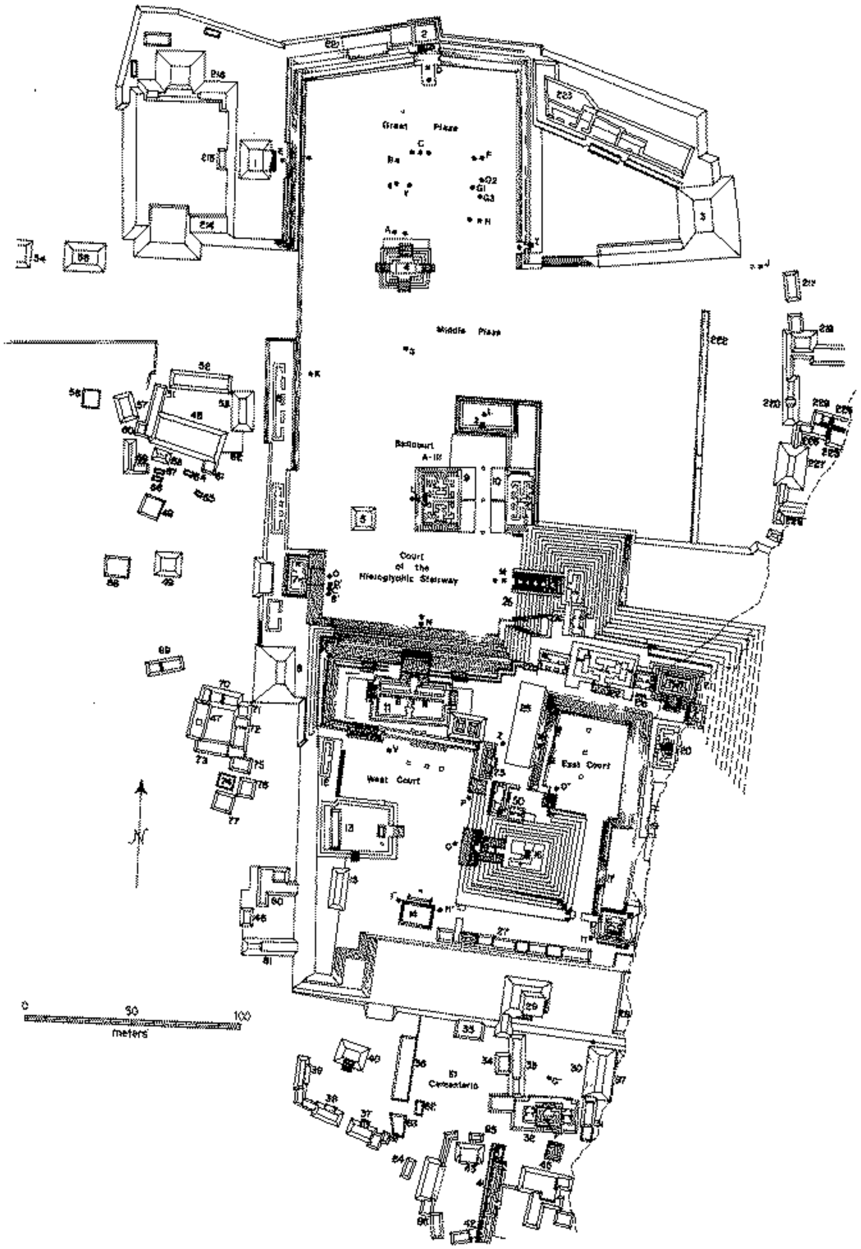

Great Plaza
Middle Plaza
Ballcourt A-III
Court of the Hieroglyphic Stairway
West Court
East Court
El Cementerio
2
3
4
5
7
9
10
11
12
13
14
16
18
20
22
26
29
30
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
45
46
47
48
49
53
54
56
57
58
59
60
64
65
66
69
70
71
72
73
75
76
77
81
86
214
215
216
220
221
222
223
227
A
B
C
D
E
F
G1
G2
G3
H
I
J
K
M
N
P
V
Y
Z
N
0
50
100
meters

Figure 6.1. Map of the site core of Copan, Honduras.

2000b). The place from which K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' arrived is identified with a toponym strongly linked to the central Mexican center of Teotihuacan. This place-name also appears at other Maya sites, including Tikal, Machaquila, and Yaxchilan. In fact, Monument 35 at Tikal mentions this place as the setting for an activity undertaken by Tikal ruler Nun Yax Ayin (Curl Nose) several months before his accession to office at Tikal (Stuart 2000b: 493), which parallels accounts of the accession of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' on Altar Q at Copan.

This sequence of events implies that the Copan dynasty is an extension of another powerful lineage of which K'uk' Mo' Ahaw was a member. The subsequent addition of *yax* (first, green, or precious) to his name might indicate that he was the first to take this name and the line it represents to Copan. Martin and Grube (2000) draw parallels between the arrival of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' at Copan in 427 and that of Siyah K'ak' (Smoking Frog) at Tikal in 378 C.E. While Stuart has proposed Teotihuacan as the location from which K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' departed, it is also possible that the Copan founder may have originally come from or been associated with Tikal (Bell and Reents-Budet 2000; Buikstra et al. 2000; Martin and Grube 2000; Sharer 2000), extending the Teotihuacano influence at Tikal to the Copan area. This argument is based on similar styles of architecture, sculpture, and ceramics at Copan and Tikal, stable isotope data from skeletal remains in the Hunal Tomb that may be those of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', Early Classic inscriptions at Tikal and Copan, and a Teotihuacan incursion at Tikal prior to the dynastic founding at Copan.

Altar Q is part of a complex of textual and iconographic references to K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' on a series of at least seven buildings beneath Structure10L-16. The earlier structures include a series of mortuary chambers, one of which contains the remains of a mature male, while another houses those of a mature female. A woman is also interred in a third Early Classic elite burial discovered by William L. Fash and his research team beneath the temple of the Hieroglyphic Staircase (Fash 2000; Williamson 1993, 1997).

Of the three elite founding area tombs discovered to date within the Copan Acropolis, two contain the remains of women, and yet there is not a single reference to a woman in either known contemporary texts or later retrospective accounts of Early Classic events and personages at Copan. How can this disparity be explained, and what are its implications for our understanding of the role of elite women in Copan's early history?

Women as Political Protagonists in the Maya Area

In other parts of the Maya area, including Palenque and Yaxchilan, texts mention and images depict women as protagonists in ritual and dynasty building. At these sites, women appear to have been mentioned more prominently when descent from the preceding ruler was traced through the matriline rather than through the patriline, as was customary. According to the inscriptions, the ruling dynasty at Palenque shifted from one patrilineage to another at least twice: in the first instance through Lady Yohl Ik'nal, who ruled the site in her own right for twenty years; and in the second through Lady Sak K'uk', whose son K'inich Janab' Pacal acceded to the throne upon attaining his majority. K'inich Janab' Pacal dedicated several monuments in which his right to rule was asserted through his connection to the previous ruling patrilineage on his mother's side (Martin and Grube 2000; Schele and Freidel 1990). A similar example is seen at Yaxchilan, where Bird Jaguar IV actively worked to emphasize the legitimacy of his claim to the throne through the aggrandizement of his mother, Lady Ik' Skull, a lesser wife of the previous ruler, Itzamnaj B'alam II (Martin and Grube 2000).

Could a similar situation have existed at Copan? While texts at Copan and the establishment of a new regal-ritual center suggest that the Classic period dynasty was founded de novo, there are indications, including monuments found on the hill slopes below the modern town and retrospective textual references, that members of an earlier dynasty governed the polity prior to the "founding" event in 426 C.E. (Martin and Grube 2000; Stuart 2000a, 2000b; Stuart and Schele 1986). It would then be possible that K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' solidified his power base by marrying into a local elite lineage (possibly that of the deposed ruler) and that his son and successor, K'inich Popol Hol, while principally honoring his father as the dynastic founder, also drew on his association with a local elite patrilineage through his mother. It is also possible that, as may have been the case with Lady Sak K'uk' of Palenque, K'inich Popol Hol's mother ruled as regent until he was old enough to assume power (Martin and Grube 2000; Schele and Freidel 1990).

A Royal Mortuary Complex at Copan: The Hunal and Margarita Tombs

This model is suggested by the discovery of the residential and funerary complex that came to form the heart of the Acropolis and the first installment of the message of prestige and continuity of power emblazoned across the façades of all subsequent structures at this locale (Sharer et al. 1999a; Sharer et al. 1999b). The first of these structures, given the field designation Hunal, is a "talud-tablero" substructure with a masonry superstructure, which may have served as the residence of the dynastic founder, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'. The masonry superstructure, known as Mo', was modified on at least three occasions, with the third and final version serving as a funerary temple built to cover the vaulted burial chamber that intruded into the Hunal substructure (Sedat and Lopez 2000). This vaulted chamber includes the bones of a single individual placed on a stone slab (figure 6.2). The body is adorned with jade, shell, and bone objects, and a concentration of elaborate Early Classic ceramic vessels and other offerings was placed on the floor beneath the stone slab on which it rested. Multiple lines of evidence suggest that these are the remains of the dynastic founder, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' (Bell et al. 1999; Bell et al. 2000; Bell et al. n.d.; Sharer et al. 1999b).

The stratigraphic position of the chamber and the style and form of the vessels within the tomb date it to the mid–fifth century, consistent with the expected date of the death of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', sometime between 435 and 437 C.E. Jane Buikstra has estimated that the interred individual was between fifty-five and seventy years of age at the time of his death; the founder is described as a "4-*katun* lord" (i.e., between the ages of sixty and eighty) in many of the inscriptions (Buikstra et al. 2000). A number of objects in the tomb are similar to things worn or carried by the founder in his portrait on Altar Q. A jade bead placed on the torso is carved with a mat design commonly associated with rulership, and a large jade pectoral found near the chest is strikingly similar in form to the unusual pectoral worn by the founder on Altar Q almost 400 years later. The small shield

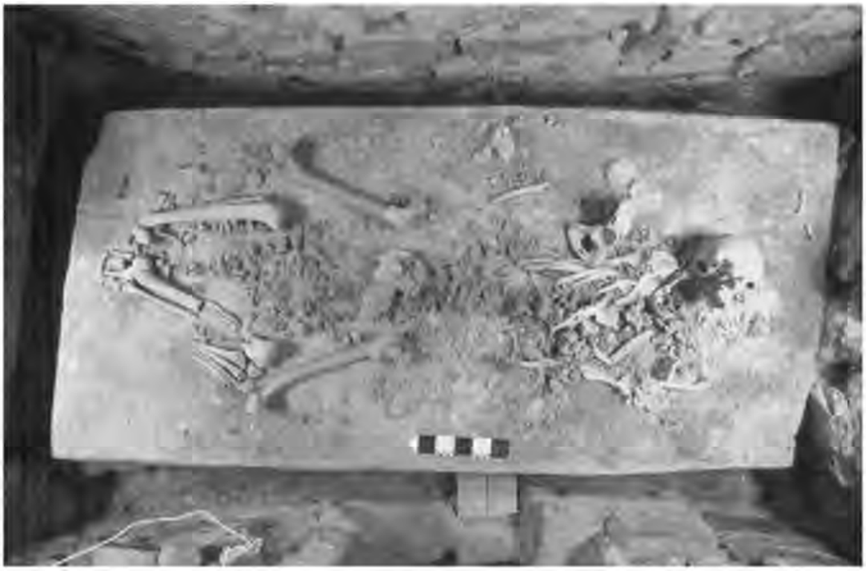


Figure 6.2. Burial offerings and the remains of a mature adult male, most likely the founder of the Classic period Copan ruling dynasty, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'. Two jade pectorals are visible in the thoracic area.

pictured on Altar Q may have been worn on the forearm to hide the deformity caused by a severe, unhealed fracture of the right radius and ulna present in the skeletal remains. Strontium isotope ratio analyses conducted by Buikstra indicate that the individual buried in the Hunal Tomb did not grow up in the Copan Valley but, rather, in the Peten region of Guatemala (Buikstra et al. 2000). Indications that the Hunal individual did not spend his childhood in the Copan Valley are consistent with accounts of the arrival of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'.

We now know that the lowest courses of a second mortuary chamber, the Margarita Tomb, were laid at the time that the adjacent Hunal Tomb was constructed (Sedat and Lopez 2000). Although little is known of the first version of the Margarita chamber, there is no evidence that an interment was placed in it at the time that the individual in the Hunal Tomb was buried, suggesting that the chamber remained open and unused until it was modified during the construction of the Yehnal and Margarita substructures (see below). It is possible, therefore, that this chamber was intended for the wife of the founder, who may have outlived him by a number of years, allowing for modifications of the chamber prior to her death and burial.

After the Hunal Tomb had been sealed, the second ruler, K'inich Popol Hol, embarked on an extensive building program that resulted in the first version of the Acropolis (Sharer et al. 1999a; Sharer et al. 1999b). This program included the construction of two additional buildings above Hunal: Yehnal, the earlier of the two substructures, and Margarita, a structure that later encased both the Hunal and Yehnal substructures. These buildings represent a shift from the talud-tablero architecture of Hunal to a more typically Maya style that included apron moldings and modeled stucco masks. This stylistic shift may have been part of a strategy of legitimization undertaken by K'inich Popol Hol and his mother designed to aggrandize K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' and to emphasize connections with the central Peten and other parts of the Maya area.

The Yehnal substructure is a rectangular masonry platform with an outset staircase flanked by modeled stucco masks on its western side. The masks include the portrait of a specific aspect of the solar deity, K'inich Taja Wayib, which echoes the Sun God title used by K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' (Martin and Grube 2000). The structure shifted the northward orientation of the underlying Hunal substructure to the west, a direction associated with death and the underworld in Maya cosmology (Ashmore 1991). The building's location, the shift in orientation, and the iconography of the stucco masks suggest that this building served as the first in a series of mortuary shrines dedicated to the dynastic founder. K'inich Popol Hol may have chosen to emphasize the solar deity title used by his father on this shrine to underscore his own use of the title, thus creating a visible reminder of his connection to K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo'. It is through this program of construction, iconography, and veneration that Yax K'uk' Mo' was installed and commemorated as the dynastic founder.

The Margarita substructure maintained the style and orientation established with the construction of Yehnal, and the polychrome, modeled stucco panels that flank its central staircase include the iconographic representation of the founder's name as a quetzal *(k'uk')* intertwined with a macaw *(mo')*. The faces that emerge from the bird's mouth include the crossed eyes and shark tooth characteristic of the solar deity *(k'inich)*, the crest of each bird is represented by a *yax* sign, and the entire scene is framed by cosmological symbols. The scenes include symbols of two apparently sacred locations (7 *Kan* and 9 *Imix*) that are also recorded on the circular marker that capped the cist in which a young woman was buried under Structure 10L-26.

The Margarita Tomb

The termination of the Margarita substructure appears to have coincided with the burial of a mature woman in the most extensive and elaborately endowed funerary complex yet discovered at Copan. This complex included an upper offering chamber and a lower burial chamber connected by a stone and earthen stairway. The vault over the stairway was extended at least twice to maintain access to the chambers as the Acropolis grew up around them. The south wall of the upper offering chamber was seated on a reset carved stone monument, the Xucpi Stone, which records the dedication of a tomb by K'inich Popol Hol on 30 November 437 C.E. and closes with the name of the founder and a reference to another person or title, possibly Siyah K'ak' (Smoking Frog), a Teotihuacan warlord present at Tikal in the fourth century. This inscription is thought to refer to the Hunal Tomb, for stratigraphic evidence suggests that it does not indicate the Margarita Tomb.

The upper chamber of the tomb includes a series of jade, shell, and ceramic offerings along with the remains of textiles, painted and stuccoed gourds, and basketry. The objects in this chamber appear to have been markers of elite status and extensive connections with foreign centers. Neutron activation analyses of eleven of the eighteen ceramic vessels recovered from this chamber indicate that six were produced in local workshops and five were imported from central Mexico, the Peten lowlands (possibly Tikal), and Kaminaljuyu (Bell and Reents-Budet 2000). One lidded cylinder tripod depicts a talud-tablero substructure (similar to the Hunal substructure) that supports an anthropomorphized temple with a goggle-eyed face and plumed arms emerging from either side of the temple. The design incorporates both Maya and Teotihuacan stylistic elements, and neutron activation analysis indicates that the composition of the clay used to make this vessel does not significantly match that of any known production area (Bell and Reents-Budet 2000).

Reached by a set of steps, the lower chamber includes the skeleton of an adult woman placed on a raised funerary slab that had broken in antiquity, probably because of architectural settling or seismic activity (figure 6.3). The woman's remains were adorned with an extensive array of jade, shell, and organic objects, and a number of additional offerings were located on the floor beneath the funerary slab. The entire deposit was covered in cinnabar, a red, mercuric sulfide pigment. Interred in a vaulted chamber, this woman wore an intricate costume made of precious materials that marked her as a member of the Copan elite. Her adornments included sandals or anklets fashioned of shell plates and knee bands of large jade beads. Strands of tubular jade beads and rounded blue beads were laid on the slab along her right side, while over 9,000 tiny jade beads (no more than one-quarter of an inch in diameter) were piled on top of a thick layer of cinnabar along her left side. Her upper body was adorned with seashells, an intricate jade belt, jade armbands and wristlets, and an elaborate jade, shell, and pearl necklace. Her neck was encircled by a strand of ten large carved jade figures with symbols of elite status and rulership that may have spelled out her name and titles. These include a large head with what may be interpreted as a *Na* sign (the glyphic feminine prefix), a figure with a tri-lobed headband associated with rulership and accession, and a vulture head in profile, which is often used as a logogram for *ahaw* or "ruler" in later texts.

The area beneath the burial slab included eighteen ceramic vessels, many of which had been broken by a large chunk of the slab as it fell, and concentrations of objects associated with the remains of the perishable containers that held them. While all of these objects are consistent with the markers of elite status present on top of the burial slab, many differ from objects found in the Hunal Tomb and interments of other elite males within the Early Classic levels of the Acropolis (Bell et al. 1999; Sharer et al. 1999a; Sharer et al. 1999b). These objects emphasize the identity of the buried individual as a woman, a mother, and a weaver. The eastern side of the tomb floor included two concentrations of bone needles (some of which had been stained bright green) that appear to have been bundled into an organic wrapping of some sort, most likely a textile. Worked bone needles were also found in the central deposit, as were tabbed jade and shell rings that may have served as loom weights. The eastern concentration also included a long, green-stained bone spatula that could have served as a bobbin or heddle as well as a bone weaving pick. Although the needles may have formed part of a "tool

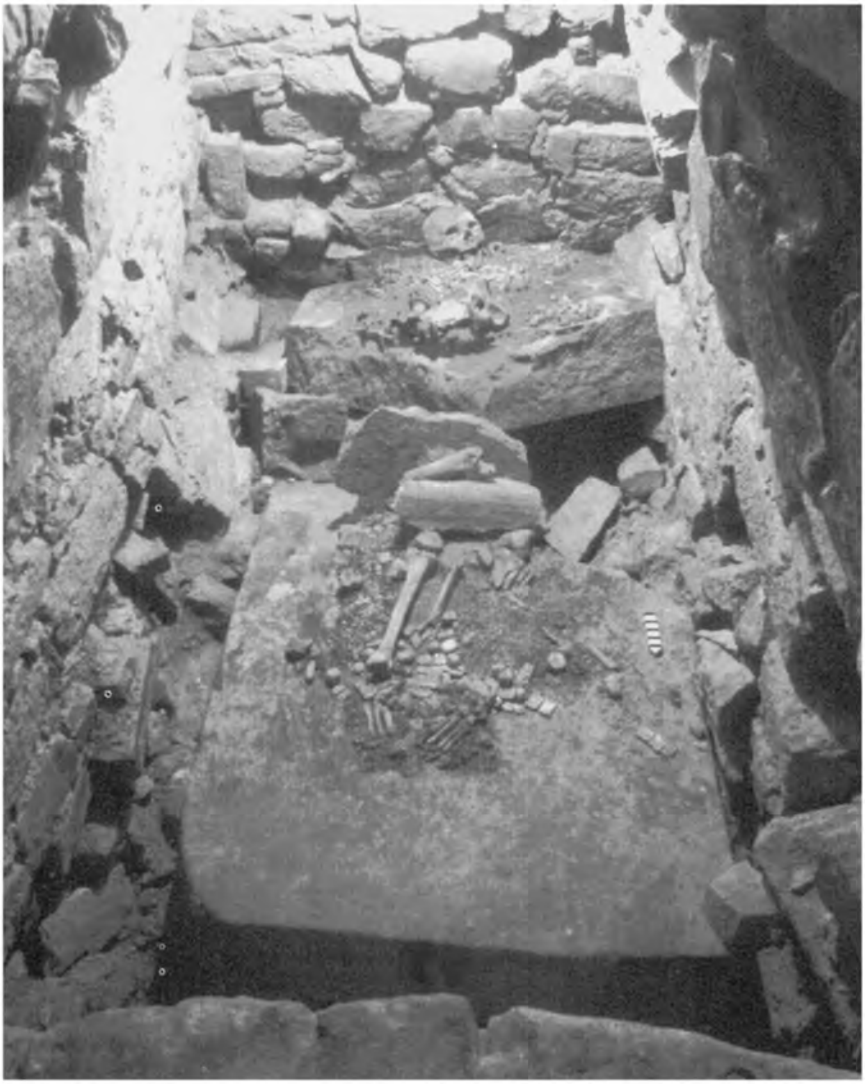


Figure 6.3. The remains of a mature adult female, possibly the wife of K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' and the mother of K'inich Popol Hol. The bones and offerings were covered in bright red pigment.

kit" of sorts, there are far more than could have been used by a single woman at a given time. Linda Schele has suggested that elements of the burial costume may indicate that the woman was dressed as an aspect of the Classic period Moon Goddess (see below), and the needles, loom weights, and pick would have been an important part of her weaving tools.

The eastern side of the central deposit included two slate and pyrite mirrors wrapped in a finely woven textile bundled into a loosely twined container. The slate backs of the mirrors are stuccoed and painted with fine-line polychrome designs. One of the mirror backs depicts a winged Teotihuacan figure standing in profile with a speech scroll in front of his mouth and an object dangling from his hand that may be a severed trophy head. A feathered sandal is visible on his right foot, and he appears to be standing in front of or seated on a small, rectangular bundle. The border of the disk is formed by a scaled serpent. The decoration on the back of the other mirror includes a Teotihuacan-style headdress whose central decorative element has been destroyed by the decayed pyrite. The design is flanked on either side by smaller rectangular designs and sits on a braided element. The border includes yellow dots and stars similar to those on a jar from Teotihuacan found in the Hunal Tomb.

The western side of the deposit included a set of small grinding stones (mano and metate) that may have been used to grind pigment. Two miniature jars appropriate for pigment storage were found on the floor near the northern entrance to the chamber (see Sheets 1992 for similar examples filled with cinnabar at Joya de Ceren, El Salvador).

Examination of the skeletal remains conducted by Buikstra indicates that the woman probably died in her sixties, making her slightly younger at the time of death than the man buried in the Hunal Tomb. The osteological evidence indicates that she was an active woman while young but that she suffered from painful knee and lower back problems later in life. Strontium isotope ratio analysis indicates that she spent most of her life in the Copan Valley (Buikstra et al. 2000).

Given this information, who is the woman in the Margarita Tomb? Although additional research may eventually indicate otherwise, it is possible that the woman in the tomb was the wife of the dynastic founder, K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', and the mother of K'inich Popol Hol. She may have been a member of the deposed ruling family or of a prominent local elite lineage into which K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' married upon his arrival in Copan to solidify his power base within the region. Upon her death, she was buried with objects that Schele has suggested might be the costume of one aspect of the Classic period Moon Goddess, along with all of the materials and tools necessary to prove her skill as a master weaver in the afterlife. She was buried in a place that served as the focal point of subsequent construction and became the focus of an extensive and elaborate program of offerings, many of which seem to have been small containers or bundles placed in the tomb with her.

Recent excavations indicate that the Margarita Tomb lies above one of the earliest construction loci at the site. It served as the focus of ritual for at least twenty years after its occupant was placed in the lower chamber and as the base of an architectural program dedicated to the veneration of the dynastic founder for over 400 years. It was indeed an important place, and it is one with a complex history. The tomb served as a dynastic sanctuary both for members of the royal lineage and for the residents of Copan. This complex served as the setting in which important rituals were celebrated, not just once but numerous times. The continuous veneration of royal ancestors, the iconographic program, and the use of styles from distant prestigious places like Tikal, Kaminaljuyu, and Teotihuacan emphasize the power and prestige of the dynastic founder and his successors. The complex became a dynastic monument that served as a link with the political and sacred past, strengthening the power of the founder and his successors into the Late Classic.

The Iconography of the Burial Offerings

In Kekchi-Mopan Maya tradition, the Moon Goddess (Po) is the wife of the sun. She is the patroness of weaving, and a derivative of her name *(pot)* is used by the Kekchi for the most important woven garment, the *huipil* (Thompson 1939). The moon is the first woman to have sexual intercourse and is closely associated with the deer, who trampled her to restore her fertility. She is considered to be the First Mother, although she is also seen as lascivious for having an affair with Venus (her brother-in-law) and her subsequent elopement with the King Vulture (Thompson 1939). In the Kekchi-Mopan legend reported by Thompson, the sun borrows the skin of the hummingbird and flies to the moon's house, where he is knocked unconscious by a blowgun pellet shot by the moon's grandfather. He is taken to the moon's room where he regains consciousness, reassumes his human form, and persuades her to flee with him. She does so after stuffing her grandfather's blowgun with chilies and smearing his divinatory mirror or crystal with soot. The association of the Moon Goddess with divination and divinatory practices is emphasized by the practice among twentieth-century Kekchi shamans of reciting the story of the sun and moon as part of curing rituals.

Among the Chorti of eastern Guatemala and western Honduras, Wisdom (1940) notes that the moon deity is the patroness of childbirth, although she is said to lose her powers of fecundity during an eclipse so that Chorti women therefore fear an eclipse during pregnancy. The Moon Goddess is also associated with plant growth, often in the form of prescribed times for planting based on the phases of the moon. All useful trees, including fruit trees, are said to belong and to owe their fecundity to her. Wisdom (1940) notes that the moon's role as the consort of the Sun God is also seen among the Chorti, as she lights the night while her companion sleeps, although this connection is not as pronounced as that described by Thompson for the Kekchi-Mopan and Yucatec Maya.

As identified in the hieroglyphic Maya codices and colonial period ethnohistoric accounts, Late Postclassic Yucatán belief included two main female deities, neither of whom is explicitly named as the Moon Goddess (Taube 1992; Vail and Stone, this volume), but both of whom are linked to characteristics associated with lunar deities in twentieth-century Maya myths and in Classic period iconography. In the codices, Goddess O is pictured as an old woman and is named in the associated glyphs as Chak Chel. Her body is often colored red, and her name prefix *Chak* means "red" or "great" in Yucatec (Taube 1992: 99). Some codical depictions of Goddess O show her with claws and fangs wearing a serpent headdress and a skirt with crossed bones and other death symbols. She is associated with storms, floods, and water and is often shown pouring water or streams of symbols from a jar. In addition to her role as a powerful world destroyer, Goddess O is associated with the forces of creation. Her name glyph suggests that she is the Ix Chel mentioned in colonial period documents, indicating that she is the female half of the great creator couple and that she is associated with divination, mirrors, medicine, childbirth, and weaving. In the ritual of the Bacabs, Ix Chel is linked to the spider (nature's weaver) and described as the "virgin of the jade needle" and "she of the thirteen skeins of colored thread," underscoring her role as patroness of spinning and weaving (Thompson 1939). Landa describes the Yucatecan practice of placing images of Ix Chel beneath the bed during childbirth (Tozzer 1941: 129). This association is extended in the form of address used in mythical accounts that include Ix Chel, in which she is addressed as "mother" or "grandmother."

In the codices, Goddess I appears in both a young and an old aspect. Though the youthful aspect is often identified as a lunar deity (Milbrath 1999; Schele and Miller 1986; Thompson 1939, 1970), it has been suggested that this aspect of Goddess I is more closely identified with the earth (Taube 1992; Vail and Stone, this volume) and that her name may be read as Ixik Kab (Vail and Stone, this volume). In her aged aspect, Goddess I shares many characteristics with Goddess O and is often shown weaving while wearing spools of cotton in her headdress (Taube 1992). Although Goddess I is not specifically linked to the moon in the codices, it is likely that she is associated with representations of the Moon Goddess in the Classic period (Taube 1992: 69).

The identification of the lunar deity in the Classic period is based primarily on the presence of a lunar crescent and a rabbit in association with an anthropomorphic figure who is almost always female but who, at times, is represented as male or androgynous (Taube 1992). A beak-like appendage projecting from the upper lip (Taube 1992) and some sort of woven or netted design element, depicted as decoration on the lunar crescent itself or in the form of a woven, beaded jade skirt, may also be present.

In light of these attributes, it is likely that, in addition to their roles as offerings or personal possessions, many of the objects placed in the Hunal and Margarita Tombs were intended to create associations between the interred individuals and cosmological protagonists. These are, at best, limited relationships that were included within a much larger iconographic program encoded in the contents and context of the mortuary deposits, but they may have played a role within the funerary symbolism, linking the buried individuals to the pantheon.

A number of elements in the Margarita Tomb may be interpreted as objects intended to resonate with an understanding of the Classic period Moon Goddess and attributes associated with Goddesses I and O in the Postclassic period, including the roles of wife to the sun, mother, grandmother, weaver, and patroness of childbirth, healing, and divination. Objects located on and alongside the body on the funerary slab may have been related to the roles of the first wife and mother, the great genetrix. An *Oliva* shell was placed inside a *spondylus* shell located on top of her pelvis, and concentrations of jade beads along both sides of her lower body may have been the remains of the intricately woven jade skirt or the raw material necessary to make such a skirt to prove her weaving prowess in the afterlife (see Ardren, this volume). A similar skirt is seen in Classic period depictions of individuals associated with lunar characteristics. The objects located on the floor under the burial slab may have been intended to resonate with the roles of weaver and embroiderer and the practice of divination. The concentrations of worked bone needles, tabbed jade and shell rings, and the worked bone pick and spatula may have been weaving tools. In addition to their function as embroidery tools, the needles could have been used as bobbins or heddles, while the tabbed jade and shell rings may have been employed as loom weights. The decorated pyrite mirrors located in the central portion of the tomb floor may have been used in divination rituals, echoed in the identification of the Moon Goddess as the patroness of divination among twentieth-century Chorti (Wisdom 1940). The incredibly high concentrations of cinnabar in the chamber may also echo the "red" *chak* portion of Goddess O's name. The placement of many of the objects in the tomb suggests that small groups of objects were bundled together in textiles or other wrappings and placed under the slab, possibly over a period of time involving repeated reentry into the chamber. This could indicate that individuals, possibly women, venerated the woman buried in the Margarita Tomb by placing small weaving tool kits within the chamber.

The individual buried in the Hunal Tomb may have been marked as the Sun God by the objects placed in the chamber with him, including a large deer effigy vessel. The deer is closely linked to both the sun and the moon deities in the Kekchi-Mopan myth reported by Thompson (1939) as the individual who trampled the Moon Goddess in order to restore her fertility. The association of the individual in Hunal Tomb with the Sun God is even more apparent in the iconography of the modeled stucco panel located on the west façade of the Yehnal structure that includes the portrait of an aspect of the solar deity and in the *k'inich* (sun) elements on the Margarita façade. Elements on the painted modeled stucco façade of the Margarita substructure may also refer to the woman buried within it. The central panel formed by the iconographic representation of the founder's name is flanked by a *chak* figure on the north and a clawed, fanged monster with a stream of symbols emanating from its mouth on the south. Both figures dive downward from a sky band toward the earth band that forms the base of the panel. It is possible that the flanking figures refer to a Classic period version of Goddess O.

Taken together, elements within and around the Margarita and Hunal Tombs may have fostered a symbolic resonance with aspects of the solar and lunar deities. While this resonance is but one small part of the symbolic meaning encapsulated within these interments, it combines with other elements to communicate elite status and, possibly, the individual identities of the people buried within these chambers.

Conclusions

Although the question of personal origins of rulers and political history and hierarchy are far from answered in spite of the wealth of new data from Copan, the Hunal and Margarita Tombs provide useful information. Similarities among the Esperanza phase burials in Mounds A and B at Kaminaljuyu (Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946), Burial 10 at Tikal (Culbert 1993), and the Hunal Tomb at Copan suggest close ties among the leaders of these centers during the Early Classic. Isotope ratio analysis of skeletal material at Copan and Kaminaljuyu indicates that the occupant of the burial may have grown up in the Tikal area of the Peten (Buikstra et al. 2000) and that the trophy heads from some of the Esperanza phase burials at Kaminaljuyu may belong to individuals from the lowlands, possibly the Peten (Wright 2000). Given this information, the relationships among the leaders of these centers must be more complicated and interactive than was previously thought.

It is clear that the Margarita Tomb served as the focus for ritual for at least twenty years after its occupant was placed in the lower chamber and that, when taken in conjunction with the underlying Hunal Tomb, the entire complex may be seen as an evolving dynastic shrine that draws on Maya conceptualizations of gender complementarity and resonates with reference to the mythical founders, First Father and First Mother. By offering evidence for the reconstruction of early dynastic history at Copan and a series of conjectural interpretations of this evidence, I hope to have underscored the complexity of Copan's early history, the limitations of our interpretative methodologies, and the importance of using multiple lines of evidence in the formulation of historical models. While the interment of this elite woman tells us little about the daily life of the vast majority of Maya women, it does tell us a great deal about the role of one woman and about our own assumptions concerning the importance and active role of women in the construction and maintenance of power among the Maya. At Copan, we now have compelling evidence that hieroglyphic texts do not tell the entire story.

Note

Acknowledgments. The research and hypotheses presented here are the outgrowth of years of close collaboration among all members of the University of Pennsylvania Early Copan Acropolis Program (ECAP), past and present, and our colleagues within the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia and other institutions working at Copan. While I am indebted to all members of the research team for the ideas outlined above, all errors, mistakes, and gross misrepresentations remain my own. ECAP's work at Copan has been made possible by support from the University of Pennsylvania Museum (Boyer and Shoemaker Chair Research Funds), the University of Pennsylvania Research Foundation, the IIE Fulbright Program, the National Science Foundation, the Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, the Maya Workshop Foundation, the Kislac Foundation, the Selz Foundation, the Holt Family Foundation, the Segy Foundation, and numerous private donors.

Lady K'awil, Goddess O, and Maya Warfare

7

MARICELA AYALA FALCÓN

> *And so they brought an Indian woman between the troop, somewhat old and very fat, and as they said, they thought of the Indian as their goddess and diviner, who had told them that as soon as she arrived where we were fighting, that we were going to be defeated, and she brought an incense burner with incense and stone idols, and all her body was painted and cotton glued to the paint, and without fear she positioned herself between our friends the Indians [the allied indigenous people] . . . and then she was cut into pieces . . . "the damned goddess."*
>
> —DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO 1944, 3: 395

THIS IS NOT AN epigraphic text but a passage with which all Mayanists, at least those who have studied Chiapas and the colonial sources associated with the region, are probably familiar. Isn't it interesting that an old, fat, non-Maya woman/goddess is associated with war in the Maya zone? This passage was not the object of my original investigation. It was a later discovery that I, as an epigrapher studying the texts from Toniná and searching for support for my investigations, found in the colonial texts. It is valuable because it makes reference to the Maya zone of Chiapas, a region in which we do not have firsthand ethnohistoric accounts like those of Landa, Sahagún, or the *Relaciones Geográficas*.

Toniná, or "houses of stone," as it was named by Solórzano, is a site that departs from some Classic patterns, even though it shares all the architectural, religious, and cultural characteristics of the Maya area. The site especially stands out in terms of patterns of patrilineal descent. For a casual student of Maya culture, this would probably not be a problem, especially when the decipherment of Maya writing still allows for some doubt concerning how certain glyphs are to be read. But Mexican epigraphy not only seeks to read the glyphs, it also tries to understand the cultural development of pre-Hispanic Maya cities within their cultural setting, and Toniná is an interesting case (Ayala Falcón 2001).

In 1990, Linda Schele and David Freidel stated in *A Forest of Kings* that the Classic Maya dynastic system was patrilineal, although some of the evidence they present including the Palenque texts suggests something different. They also describe the Tlaloc–Venus war costume and generalize it to all of the Maya area, without describing the limits for the use of such a costume.

What can we say about women in a corpus of inscriptions that only describe patrilineal descent? They are mentioned casually, although evidence suggests that women were present in the texts since the earliest inscriptions. Some early examples are found at Uaxactún, Tikal, and Calakmul (Valdés, Fahsen, and Escobedo 1999), and later examples are found at Yaxchilán, Copán, Palenque, and Naranjo, just to name a few cities. The question that comes to mind is, If women were mentioned, what was their role?

When Christopher Jones (1977) first identified kinship terms in the 1970s, almost all epigraphers were dedicated to demonstrating that the Classic Maya kinship system had been patrilineal. This proposition was accepted, and very little attention was given to other types of evidence. This is not the case at Toniná. Even though Toniná is not a "first magnitude" site like Tikal, Copán, or even Palenque, it is an interesting city that, in regard to several aspects, differs from the basic characteristics that define the Maya area. Some of these characteristics are the kinship ties: indeed, even if in some cases the ancestry of the king is mentioned in the inscriptions of Toniná, in most cases kinship ties did not influence the governing systems of the city.

Toniná

The city of Toniná is located in the Valley of Ocosingo, Chiapas (Becquelin and Baudez 1982–84). One characteristic that sets Toniná apart from other Classic Maya cities is that it retained some of the peculiar traits attributed to the Classic Maya for longer than other cities in the region. For example, the last written long-count date is found on Monument 104 dated to 10.4.0.0.0, or 20 January 909 C.E.[1] In addition, the ceremonial center of Toniná was occupied until ca. 1250 C.E., with a hiatus between 844 and 901. Even then the area was not abandoned; people simply left the mountain and continued to live in the valley until the arrival of the Spaniards. At this time they had to abandon the area so that they would not be captured and sold as slaves by Francisco Gil Zapata and Lorenzo Godoy (De Vos 1988: 53). Subsequently, they joined with Lacandons (the real ones) and received the name of Pochutlas, as it is cited in colonial documents. Fray Pedro Lorenzo de la Nada convinced them to return to the valley. They accepted and were pacified, which demonstrates that the valley was continuously occupied, not abandoned, as some scholars have suggested.

I have mentioned this regional history with the intention of demonstrating that at least in some parts of the Classic Maya area there were no drastic ruptures to cause monumental changes in the cultural tradition. This is the common objection of many specialists when epigraphers dare to use historic documents and ethnography to prove their decipherments as I do with the data from Toniná. I anticipate that some epigraphers and archaeologists will not be in agreement with my methodology and my conclusions. I want to state that the case I am presenting refers only to Toniná, and I hope that these data may be useful in future epigraphic investigations.

The Role of Women in the Inscriptions of Toniná

Even though new monuments have been discovered at Toniná by the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia during work from 1982 to 2000, none of them alters my data (Ayala Falcón 1995). So, I will begin my exposition with a discussion of Ruler 2 and Monument 99 (Ayala Falcón 1995; Mathews n.d.).

It was Ruler 2, or Balam-Way (668–82 C.E.), who first began recording monuments with prisoners. An important monument is M.99, which depicts a woman in torn clothes with ropes around her arms. The preserved portion of the glyphic text states that she was sacrificed on the day before the ascension of Ruler 2 to the throne, if the date identified is correct.

Surely there are some scholars who question the reading of the date (9.11.16.0.0) 13 *Ahaw* 8 *Mol*, but what is unquestionable is that a "female prisoner" is represented and a cartouche for self-sacrifice precedes the name of Ruler 2, followed by the emblem glyph of Toniná. In fact, most would agree that it is the first representation in the corpus of monumental inscriptions of a captive woman associated with the autosacrifice of a ruler.

The date proposed by Peter Mathews (n.d.) for Monument 99 is 13 *Ahaw*, the seating of the *tun*. This date is associated with the life of Ruler 2 and can only be 9.11.16.0.0, 13 *Ahaw* 8 *Mol*, when an autosacrifice occurred of Balam-Way (Ruler 2) or the prisoner. This date is also the day before the ascension to the throne of Balam-Way on 9.11.16.0.1, which is recorded on Monument 113.

A later ruler, Chak Baknal,[2] does not demonstrate the same relationship between his acts of war and his sacrifices, or any relationship with women, unless one inspects his burial. My dissertation demonstrates at greater length that the tomb found in the fifth terrace probably contains his sarcophagus, based on jades in the Squier collection and the historic data related to such a discovery (Ayala Falcón 1995). Based on data provided by physical anthropologist Arturo Romano, there is a strong relationship between the ruler Chak Baknal and sacrificed women. Romano has proven that the majority of the jaws found in association with the burial are of women, although this was not a multiple burial (Becquelin and Baudez 1982–84). The jaws belonged to victims of sacrifice, which we know was the custom during the Classic Maya period.

Chak Baknal (Ruler 3) built the two ball courts at Toniná. It is still not clear, for lack of archaeological evidence, who constructed the small altar located in the Great Plaza, just above the Great Ball Court. The Great Ball Court, or the sunken one that marks the space of the Underworld, had two epochs, the first one associated with Chak Baknal, and the second one, with Ruler 8. It is also not clear who commissioned the altar found on the east side of the Great Ball Court. One side of this altar, or circular monument, represents the Moon Goddess, or Goddess O in the Schellhas-Zimermann classification system, seated with a prisoner in front of her. The Moon Goddess grabs the prisoner with her left hand, and in her right hand she holds an obsidian knife, with which she is about to dispatch the prisoner.[3] The question that occurred to me when I first saw this image in1988 was, Why is the Moon Goddess portrayed as a warrior and associated with the ballgame?

To those wondering how I knew she was the Moon Goddess in her old aspect, the answer is fairly easy. Only this goddess is depicted with a nude torso, whereas images of women, wives, and mothers of rulers in the Classic monuments and codices are always dressed (but see Vail and Stone, this volume).

Years later archaeologist Juan Yadeun (1993) discovered another monument, the famous stucco that he named "The Four Suns." Little attention has been paid to the thrones associated with the stucco façade and what was left of the inscriptions on the thrones. The first throne, looking at it from the front, had a date on its right side, which unfortunately is already lost. On this same side, over the floor and adjacent to one of the sides of the throne, is a stone box that represents a prisoner. On the backside, some years ago one could distinguish glyphs that mentioned a woman and under them, inside a niche, a prisoner of Anayte, a place near Yaxchilán, which is mentioned on other monuments and buildings.[4]

Who was this woman? What is the relationship between goddess and prisoner? Could it be a lady prisoner? In these inscriptions we have information about real prisoners who come from a known site. Unfortunately, archaeology has not yet provided us with any evidence to answer these questions. What we know through epigraphy and iconography is the fact that Goddess O, the "old and fat goddess," is depicted with a prisoner on one altar and that at the same site there is a throne with a woman represented in the glyphs and prisoners portrayed on the sides. Even though doubts about readings will always exist, epigraphy has data that may not tell us exactly who the woman was but will provide information that is relevant to an understanding of the presence of Goddess O as a warrior, of the unknown woman who is represented on the throne with two prisoners, the woman captive who was "sacrificed" by Ruler 2, and the women who were sacrificed in the burial of Ruler 3.

Here I want to clarify something I mention above. When Schele and Freidel (1990) discovered the Tlaloc–Venus wars, they generalized the terminology to the entire Maya area. Mayanists accepted such information without understanding that this iconography applies only to the Tikal area and its neighbors. It would be difficult for someone from Calakmul, or its allies, to dress for war in the same way. This point is relevant to the case of Toniná. None of the rulers at this site is dressed as Tlaloc; nor are they even dressed as warriors, although there is clearly plenty of iconographic evidence for conflict.

The same is true of the epigraphic record of Toniná, especially in regard to a patrilineal system of descent. None of the Toniná rulers states, "I am the son of . . . ," with the exception of Ruler 8, who states that he was the "son of Lady K'awil" (M.138). We do not know the date of birth of Ruler 8 or of the majority of rulers, except for Ruler 3. Moreover, we do not know most of the ascension dates of the rulers, although we know some of their achievements, such as those of Ruler 8, who in his first inscription describes himself as a sculptor or scribe. He then indicates that he was the captor of the lord of Kololte (the mountain in front), captor of Lord Poyom,[5] captor of Sak Balam from Palenque, and captor of the nine captives. We also know he reconstructed the Great Ball Court. In sum, Ruler 8 made many claims of being an artist, warrior, and architect, but what is also interesting is that he is the only ruler of Toniná who mentions a kinship term along with his titles: on M.138 he states he is "the son of Lady K'awil."

The name of this woman is important and bears more examination. In Classic Maya mythology, K'awil is GII, the God of Lineages. Within the Palenque Triad he is Ch'ok, and within Maya cosmology the title is important. When Kan Balam II of Palenque opens the power bundle that he received from his father, Hanab Pakal II, on the Temple of the Cross panel, inside the bundle is, precisely, K'awil (GII).

The existence of Lady K'awil from Toniná is demonstrated on M.A.9.[6] This

TNA M 144

Tonina Monument 144

is a fragment of an altar disc whose provenience and original size are unknown. The text mentions the date of her death, 10 *Ix*, G2, 12 *Sip*. This is the standard formula of Toniná in which the Calendar Round is given with the Lord of the Night,[7] in this case G2, with a corresponding date of 9.17.3.3.14 or 23 March 774.

9.14.10.8.14

The first known inscription of Ruler 8 is dated 9.17.16.10.1, 7 *Imix* 14 *Xul*. The death of his brother, Wak Chaan or "6 Heaven," was in 9.17.4.12.5, 8 *Chikchan* 18 *Sak*, and is recorded on the disc located in the central hole of the Great Ball Court. The monument also mentions that the deceased was the "son of the woman." From the dates we may infer that Wak Chaan was the first son of Lady K'awil, mentioned on a disc that Ruler 8 dedicated to the memory of his brother and mother when he renovated the Great Ball Court. How can we support this reconstruction? Simply by remembering that the Great Ball Court had two epochs and that the central disc, where the death of Wak Chaan, the "son of the woman," is mentioned, was not part of the original construction but was found above the second floor.

So, why change the central disc, the one located over the black hole, whose function was to link the ball court to other spaces, for a disc that mentions that the deceased was the son of a woman? Why does the disc bear the portrait of Goddess O as a warrior in this temple altar? Why is there the throne of a woman with two prisoners in front of the mural that represents the capture, death, and descent to the Underworld of a lord of Pomoná? Why do the only kinship terms in Toniná refer to a woman? And why is the feminine presence associated with war in Toniná? After all, the rulers of Toniná are never armed, but there is evidence of captives. Nor is there evidence of a patrilineal lineage, as the French archaeologists who studied the valley have demonstrated (Becquelin and Taladoire 1990).

Classic Maya women are present in many inscriptions; after all, they are the carriers of the emblem glyph of each place, and the emblem glyph means "the lord or lady of the sacred blood of. . . ." To our knowledge women were the carriers of "the sacred blood of . . . ," which encompassed descent, language, culture, and tradition. In sum, they were and are the messengers of knowledge. Thus, the history of educated women is not exclusive to Greece, and the tradition of women in politics is not exclusive to Egypt—creative women have always existed.

The presence of creative and powerful women is demonstrated by the short history of Toniná. It was not a man who transmitted the lineage; it was a woman, Lady K'awil. Through the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, I infer that she assumed power after the failure of Rulers 5 and 6, Ak Motz and Zotz Choj. It was probably Lady K'awil, after victories in battle, who commissioned the construction of the thrones in front of the stucco mural that represents the capture of the lord of Pomoná. The first throne describes the woman who captured a lord of Anayte, whose image is behind and under the throne of this woman. This theme is repeated in what I call the House of the Prisoners.[8]

Why were kinship relations not applied in Toniná until the Late Classic, and then only in relation to one woman? Why wasn't there a patrilineal system? The rulers, as the colonial documents of the region indicate, were elected from within an elite. It seems relevant that an "old and fat woman" (compare the image of the Moon Goddess in her codex aspect) was the leader of the Chiapa Indians in the first battle against the Spaniards and also that the Goddess Toci of the Mexicans was associated with war and her festivities dealt with that activity.

The zone called "the Vera Paz" was practically never in peace, and the fact that the Pochutlas were the original inhabitants of Toniná is proven in my dissertation (Ayala Falcón 1995). We also know that the Lacandons and the Itzáes never gave up their assaults on Chiapas. The former preferred to die, and the latter abdicated. What is interesting is that after the Itzá surrendered, a cult devoted to the virgin of Zinacantán manifested in 1708. Then a cult of the "virgin" of Santa Marta developed through an indigenous young woman, and a cult of the Virgin of Cancuc appeared in 1711; and finally Maria Candelaria appeared in the Tzotzil area in 1712 with the Rosary Virgin, who communicated that she was in charge of defending the people against all authority (Martínez Peláez 1977).

In 1727, the Zoques from south of Tabasco and the Tzeltales from north of Chiapas led an uprising with the argument that the Virgin who is now in Bachajón had appeared. In 1743, images of the Virgin of Cancuc, of the Señora del Patrocinio, and of the Rosary Virgin were distributed again. The latter were associated with the war in Catholic beliefs. Uprisings continued, with the war of 1867 being the most significant, because of the presence of Agustina Gómez Checheb, a young Chamula woman. Agustina said to her mother that three stones had fallen to her, "the three stones of heaven," on 22 December of that year. The date and the discovery demonstrate that the pre-Hispanic Maya tradition had been maintained, especially through women, and that men were capable of believing and using these traditions.

Much literature has been written concerning this rebellion. The book that is most impressive for its literary quality is *Oficio de Tinieblas* by Rosario Castellanos (1998). It took a woman, although many researchers do not accept it, to understand the problem, cause, and role of women within that rebellion.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have tried to demonstrate that it is not always appropriate to apply ideas recovered from one Maya region to all of the Maya area. Each region, even when it shares almost all cultural phenomena characteristic of the Maya area, is capable of presenting distinctive aspects that give us interesting new information with which to understand Maya culture.

In this essay I contextualize some aspects of Maya women during the pre-Hispanic period, as known from the epigraphy and archaeology of Toniná, with historical and ethnological information from the same region of Chiapas. My conclusions are that Toniná Maya women played a very different role in their society than ancient women in other areas of the Maya world.

For many years Maya epigraphers have paid limited attention to Maya women, but even when evidence was available, most studies continued to support the old idea that Maya women did not play an important role in ancient Maya society. The epigraphic arguments against this idea are the following. In Toniná we do not have a kinship system registered in the royal inscriptions. The rulers of Toniná never mention the names of their parents, with one or possibly two exceptions. In both possible cases the allusion is to the mother, whom I presume was the seventh ruler (Lady Na K'awil), by her sons: Wak Kaan and his brother, Ruler 8. In addition, archaeological and historical information has proven that in this region a patrilineal descent system did not function, and rulership was not by heredity but by assignation.

The Toniná monuments and archaeological evidence concerning women are almost always associated with war or sacrifice. I have discussed Monument 99, which shows a captive woman related to Ruler 2. In the sarcophagus of the great warrior Ruler 3, on the anniversary of his death at least nine women were sacrificed, as demonstrated by jaws buried with his ashes. The throne dedicated to a woman, in front of the stucco mural, depicts the Anayte captive on the backside and another captive painted on the stone box at the side of the throne.

In addition to these we have another important incidence of feminine iconography related to war, and it is the most important because it is on the altar disk located at the upper part of the Great Ball Court. This disk represents a goddess, the Old Moon Goddess, an "old, fat woman," with a captive. She is not the Coxolxauhqui, for in this case she is the winner.

All these relationships between women and war can be sustained through the historical and mythological tradition of Mesoamerica. The Moon Goddess is, for some reason, associated with war. At war events in the Maya (and Mesoamerican) region it was not just Venus who was present. The Old Moon Goddess or Chac

Chel was present in the Maya insurrections that occurred during the colonial period. The young *sak* Moon Goddess or Virgin was also present. Mayan Indians had (or have?) both goddesses personified. The Spaniards, for some reason, continued this tradition and also portrayed many other *sak* goddesses or "Virgins" in these rebellions. And why not? After all, women are the poetry of life, tradition, and culture.

Notes

1. The inscriptions of Toniná differ from the inscriptions of the rest of the Maya area. They are not described as stelae but are called Monuments (M) or Fragments (F).

2. Names of the rulers of Toniná based on their possible hieroglyphic readings are assigned in my dissertation (Ayala Falcón 1995).

3. This monument is on display in the site museum but cannot be photographed.

4. My identification of the prisoners of Toniná is based on the fact that the rulers of this site left prisoners their necklaces to indicate individual identity. This is the case with the individual from Anayte whose name is also carved on his body.

5. When Pedro de Alvarado asked the king of Spain for the land he had "conquered," he mentioned Tequepan Poyomatlán. Poyom is a Maya name and is one of the places conquered by Ruler 8.

6. There are several monuments from Toniná that were discovered by Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia projects and have not been cataloged. In my dissertation (1995) I give them the classification of M.A., with attention to the dates of the inscriptions.

7. This calendar or mathematical formula would repeat only during the next *Baktun*, or 400-year cycle.

8. Unfortunately, the captives represented in the stucco façade of this building are about to disappear.

Women in Classic Maya Hieroglyphic Texts

8

J. KATHRYN JOSSERAND

From about the first century C.E. to the tenth century, the Maya of southern Mesoamerica recorded their history on stone monuments and other media that have survived to be discovered and interpreted by modern archaeologists and epigraphers. Decipherment of the Maya script is now well advanced, and this unique historical record is becoming available for broader scholarly treatment. These historical records, which name Maya kings and queens and other members of elite families and relate selected events in their lives, constitute an invaluable new resource for the study of women's roles and statuses in ancient Maya society. While most attention has been paid to males, who are more often the protagonists of the inscriptions, women figure prominently in the epigraphic record, and both the texts and the accompanying images provide insight into the roles played by women in Classic Maya elite affairs.

The presence of women in Classic Maya art and writing has long attracted the interest of scholars. Tatiana Proskouriakoff writes about women in her "Portraits of Women in Maya Art" (1961) and in her posthumously published overview, *Maya History* (1993). Joyce Marcus (1973) discusses the role of women and notes the royal couples depicted on Calakmul sculpture (1987), as does Jeffrey Miller (1974). Heinrich Berlin (1982) discusses Maya women as a factor in politics. As inscriptions began to be read with greater facility, the prominence of women became more obvious and individual women began to be identified: Ramón Carrasco V. (1985) discusses La Señora Cimi (Lady Death, now known as Great Skull), and Carolyn Tate (1987) sketches the careers of the royal women of Yaxchilán. The question of gender and gender roles was opened (Ayala Falcón 1999; Freidel and Schele 1997; Hendon 1997; Hewitt 1999; Miller 1988; Stone 1988).

Earlier studies of Classic Maya social organization focused on the interpretation of male roles: kingship, warfare and the capture of prisoners, and god impersonations in ritual events (Chase and Chase 1992, 1996; Culbert 1991; Schele and Freidel 1990; Schele and Miller 1986). This study will look at *women* in Classic Maya society as they are represented in hieroglyphic texts and will examine what we know about them from these texts, in general and in specific. In general, what kinds of information are we given about women? What are they doing when they appear on monuments? With whom do they appear, and why? What do the hieroglyphic texts say about them? And specifically, what particular women do we know about as historic personages, and what were their roles in Classic affairs? The observations that follow are based on data that are given in the monuments, including primarily the hieroglyphic texts but also the images that accompany texts and the contexts in which the monuments themselves occur—architectural, iconographic, and historical. In the interpretation of these data, I will make inferences based on external models, drawn from archaeology, linguistics, social anthropology, and both theoretical and ethnographic studies of Mayas and related societies. My analyses of the hieroglyphic texts are informed by discourse analysis of the narrative structures and rhetorical devices used by ancient Maya authors (Josserand 1991, 1995).

Epigraphically, males are usually the chief protagonists of Classic Maya monuments (and other hieroglyphic texts), but it is by no means rare to find secondary mentions of elite women in the protagonist's text. Some monuments and architectural programs actually have female protagonists and refer to males only in relation to these women, for example, the Oval Palace Tablet at Palenque (figure 8.1). Here we see the young king Pacal receiving emblems of rulership from his mother Lady Zac Kuk,[1] identified by a name phrase around her head that begins and ends with elite female title glyphs. Pacal is introduced *in relation to* the queen; the text identifying Pacal consists only of the phrase "*her child*, Pacal, Holy King of Palenque." At Yaxchilán, the famous lintels of Structure 23 feature Lady Xoc as the visual protagonist,[2] and though most of the texts seem to be about her husband, Shield Jaguar, the building itself is identified as belonging to her, and she has her own glyphic texts on the faces of the lintels. Several other buildings at Yaxchilán also have lintels with texts and images that feature women, and women appear on lintels and stelae around the Maya world. Women are also present in the surviving codices (the Moon Goddess in her several guises) and in the scenes painted on Classic Maya ceramics, especially in court scenes, but the texts that accompany

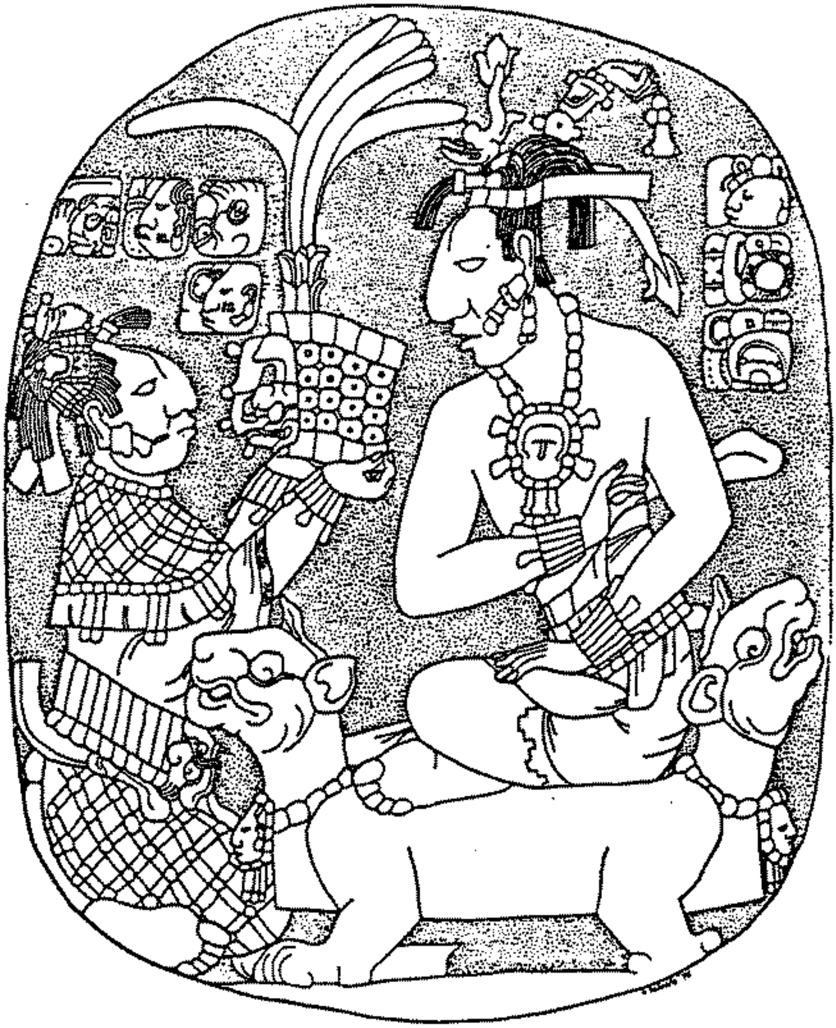


Figure 8.1. The Oval Palace Tablet, Palenque; drawing by Linda Schele (Robertson, Scandizzo, and Scandizzo 1976: 62). Lady Zac Kuk, left, hands the headdress, a symbol of rulership, to her son, Pacal. The column of glyphs to the right of Pacal reads: "her child, Sun-eyed Pacal, Holy Lord of Palenque."

them are generally much more limited in their references to women. In this discussion, I have concentrated on the considerable corpus of monumental texts associated with women.

An important function of hieroglyphic texts, both for the Classic Maya and for the modern scholar, is to provide background information to the main event portrayed on the monument. This peripheral information is particularly rich in details that relate to social and political structure, including titles, parentage and other kinship statements, and other terms of relationship among elite individuals mentioned in the texts. These inscriptions include textual references to women, and they identify personages who appear in the images; the hieroglyphic inscriptions thus offer direct historical evidence from primary sources on social structure and are especially important for understanding women's roles in this male-centered society. Here, I will discuss the statuses and roles of particular, historical women in Classic Maya society in terms of four spheres of influence: kinship, social status, ritual activity, and politically significant roles related to alliance and succession in rule.

Many Classic Maya women are well known to epigraphers from the hieroglyphic texts in which their names appear. The names they are given in the literature derive from the logographic and phonetic hieroglyphs that represent their personal names and titles. Among the prominent women I discuss below are Lady Xoc, Lady Evening Star, and Lady Great Skull from Yaxchilán (for context, see Schele and Freidel 1990: 262–305) and Lady Zac Kuk, Lady Kanal Ikal, and Lady Ah Po Hel of Palenque (Schele and Freidel 1990: 219). Several royal women are known by reference to their places of origin: for example, Lady of Dos Pilas at Naranjo (Schele and Freidel 1990: 191) and Lady of Palenque at Copan (Schele and Freidel 1990: 320, 488). Epigraphic work ultimately identified the Lady of Dos Pilas as Lady Wac Chanil Ahau (Schele and Freidel 1990: 183–95). At Tikal there is a royal woman known only as Woman of Tikal (Coggins 1975: 218–22; Schele and Freidel 1990: 166–67). The stelae and portable objects of Piedras Negras (Stuart 1985) introduce us to Lady Maní (or Lady Akbal, Lady Night) and Lady Kin (Lady Day). The stelae of Bonampak feature the wife and mother of the ruler Chan Muan (Mathews 1980). Recently, the discovery of royal tombs has brought to light royal women from Copan, in the building known as Margarita (G. Stuart 1997: 82), and from Palenque, in a structure next to the Temple of the Inscriptions. Marcus (1987) has pointed out the women (whose names may be forever illegible) paired with the rulers in the sculptured stelae of Calakmul. Many other women are mentioned in hieroglyphic texts, and many more will no doubt become known to us as epigraphic research continues.

Women's Spheres of Action

Women's spheres of action during the Classic period were intimately related to men's, in ways that are immediately recognizable as analogous both to ethnographic descriptions of Maya culture and to patterns documented in other cultures with similar social and political principles, from European aristocracy and kingship to Chinese ancestor veneration. Maya society is and was kin based, and its patrilineal nature will be discussed below. During the Classic period, political power was vested in rulers who passed their rights to their heirs, preferably to their sons, sometimes to younger brothers, but, perhaps more often than we realize, to or through daughters in absence of male heirs with sufficient claim to close descent from previous rulers. Women were of primary importance in building alliances among patrilines. Today, Maya wives and their kin are part of men's backup systems in any major endeavor, especially when occupying public office in the cargo system (Collier 1968; Devereaux 1987: 94–95).

The data relating to women's statuses and roles in Classic Maya society can be organized in terms of several spheres of activity, or clusters of roles, that relate to distinct dimensions of social organization. Because kinship is and was a basic organizing principle in Maya society, I will first look at women's *kinship roles.*

In the larger social fabric, relative social status was another key principle in the hierarchically stratified society of the Classic Maya. Social status is reflected in named positions within the social fabric and by other markers commonly associated with rank, including economic status, health and age (reflecting better diet), and respect. The social status of specific women during the Classic period can be inferred from their titles and appellations in inscriptions (Hamrick 1994; Hewitt 1999); from their association with material wealth, shown in costumes, jewelry, and other personal accoutrements portrayed in Maya art (Bruhns 1988); from texts that name them as the owners of buildings; and from grave goods and burial treatment. Thus, women's *social roles* can also be inferred from monumental and other evidence.

Ritual activity is the primary context in which we see Classic Maya elite women. When women are shown on carved stone monuments, they are usually shown in ceremonial garb, performing rituals, and usually as secondary participants, accompanying their husbands. But this is not always the case. In fact, there are various rituals depicted in monumental art in which women are shown as the primary or only actors, especially on monuments from the southwestern lowlands, at Palenque, Piedras Negras, and Yaxchilán. Other scholars have also investigated women in ritual contexts (Stone 1988; Tate 1987). Here, I will try to summarize women's *ritual roles* as they are elucidated by hieroglyphic texts and images and compare them with modern Maya women's participation in the ritual sphere.

Women's *political roles* can be characterized as embodying *links* among kin groups and polities. Marriage links two patrilines and creates alliances between the families that can be actuated as financial, social, or military support. Certain marriages, those between a man and a female heir to her patriline, involve the transfer of statuses, material goods, and political authority from one patriline to another. Here, women serve as dynastic links. There is ample evidence that women passed the right to rule to their husbands and sons at several sites, including Tikal and Piedras Negras. Most intriguing are the examples of women in the dynasty lists of Classic Maya cities; we have written documentation that certain women ruled in their own right, at Palenque and possibly at Tikal and Naranjo.

Kinship

A critical element in the interpretation of Maya social organization is *kinship*. Classic Maya society in the southern lowlands was kin based, even though the kin groups were part of a larger sociopolitical system—a city-state or even more complex polity. Although assertions about the nature of Classic Maya kinship run the gamut from patrilineal, to matrilineal, to dual descent systems (for a review, see Hopkins 1988), many of these positions demonstrate a lack of understanding of how kinship systems work and what is meant by *patrilineality*. Kinship systems refer to kinship *terminology* and recognition of relationships of affiliation with corporate groups, in the case of lineal systems. Kinship *behavior* reveals the importance of complementarity in kin *group* relationships and allows men *and women* to connect with the kin groups they are related to by maternal parentage and by marriage. I believe that the arguments for patrilineality as the basic kinship terminological system are overwhelming and that arguments based on observed patterns of royal inheritance and rule confuse quite distinct principles of social organization, those of familial relationship and of political succession based on parent-to-child descent.

The analogy of Classic Maya kinship and political succession with the system familiar to us from British royal succession is simple and convincing. Legitimacy in political succession derives from immediacy of relationship to the preceding ruler, *preferably but not exclusively* through male links, as we see in the case of Queen Elizabeth II, the direct heir to her father's patriline. We see the same system working in the presumed future inheritance of the office of king of England by Elizabeth's eldest son or other direct male heir, despite the fact that this means transfer of authority from a male, to a female, to a male. There is no violation of the patrilineal rule of kinship affiliation here, for kinship, per se, is not being affected. Nor is there any violation of the rule of political succession, which only demands that the nearest blood relative succeed, including (in some patrilineal societies) women in the absence of a qualified male heir.

The Classic Maya kinship system was a patrilineal system (Haviland 1968, 1977; Hopkins 1988, 1991), whereby one's *primary* kin affiliation was with one's father's family and membership in a kin group was passed through *male* links only. This patrilineal principle of descent does not mean that women are not members of a given kin group; in fact, they are, for life. Even after marriage, a woman's family identity is still a part of her own father's lineage. But a woman's children are *not* members of her kin group; instead, they belong to their father's (mother's husband's) kin group.

The children have a *secondary*, or *complementary*, affiliation to their mother's family, that is, to their mother's patriline, reflected in a special, formalized relationship with their maternal uncle, their mother's brother, who represents the male authority in the mother's family (at least after the mother's father is deceased). This uncle is often responsible for training young nephews in manly behavior, such as hunting, and, we might expect, in martial arts. The difference between paternal and maternal uncles is recognized in Maya kinship terminology, in which paternal uncles are addressed as "fathers," whereas maternal uncles—mother's brothers—have a distinct term of address, *yichan* in Chol and Classic inscriptions (as on Lintel 58 from Yaxchilán).

Patrilineal kinship systems still operate in highland Chiapas and in other Mayan areas; they were once more widespread in this area and throughout the Classic area (Guiteras Holmes 1951; Nutini 1961). The best preserved system is found among the Chalchihuitán Tzotzil (Hopkins 1969; Romney 1967), but the patrilineal principle is clear from better documented groups, such as the Zinacantecos, a Tzotzil Maya group (Vogt 1969), whose lands are near the colonial city of San Cristóbal de las Casas. Zinacanteco kinship terminology reflects the extended patrilineal families still found in this Maya society. Sons inherit land from their fathers, so they tend to live on ancestral lands. Brothers live next to one another, but their sisters move away to live with their husbands' families. This marriage pattern produces large, localized families of patrilineal lineage segments, all descended from a common ancestor. Eventually there are too many kin in one place, and some younger brothers have to move farther away; these men will ultimately become the apical ancestors of new localized lineage segments, but for a long time they will still maintain ties back to the original home.

This kinship system, in which sons inherit, is usually associated with exogamous marriage rules—one cannot marry within one's patrilineage, that is, with someone who has the same family name. This restriction sets up a pattern of exchange of women between patrilines, whereby two or more patrilineal lineages regularly exchange sisters, resulting in a pattern of cross-cousin marriage. A boy marries his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. It is common for sets of men (lineage brothers) to marry sets of sisters, girls from neighboring patrilineages. Over a series of generations, two exchanging families become closely interrelated; all are cousins of one kind or another. Certain kinds of cousins are not marriageable, and others are; in other words, cousins who are not in one's own lineage are potential, even preferred, marriage mates. In modern peasant agriculturalist Maya villages, the regular exchange of women between two adjacent patrilines often results in men marrying sisters (Hopkins 1969), creating alliances between families with adjacent lands. This pattern of allied families seems to match what we find in the Maya inscriptions, which document extensive family genealogies. The exchange-alliance model is an important building block in creating larger sociopolitical systems, such as those of the Classic Maya.

Polygyny is another feature found in some modern Maya societies that also seems to be documented in Classic inscriptions. It seems clear that for the Classic Maya elite, marriages with several different families would have produced more advantageous alliances. Yaxchilán gives us the only incontrovertible data on these points: Shield Jaguar I is associated with two women, his primary consort, Lady Xoc, and the mother of his ultimate heir, Lady Ik Skull (Lady Eveningstar). Bird Jaguar, Shield Jaguar's son and heir, chose a woman of the Skull family as his primary consort (Lady Great Skull, or Chac Cimi), but he is also associated with other women (Lady Balam Ix Witz and Lady Ah Po Ik). The wives of Bird Jaguar are shown in various lintels, usually with their husband, but other lintels in the same buildings may show Bird Jaguar with another male. The evidence (including kin terms used in the hieroglyphic texts) indicates that these other males are the king's brothers-in-law. His wife's brother was the representative of her patrilineage, with which the king formed an alliance through marriage (Yaxchilán Structures 2, 16, 20, 21, and 42). Multiple wives also mean that multiple heirs are possible, and it is at Yaxchilán that we see the best evidence of a contested inheritance, during the ten-year interval between the death of Shield Jaguar I and the accession of Bird Jaguar IV, his son by a late-in-life wife from a powerful ally, Calakmul (see below).

The roles of wife and mother are clearly important ones in Classic Maya society and are frequently mentioned in hieroglyphic texts. Women often took as part of their personal titles the appellation "mother of so-and-so," or they took as their own titles the female forms of their husbands' titles (Lady Cahal, Lady Chac-te, Lady Bacab, Lady Ahau).[3] At Bonampak, Stela 2 shows the king, Chan Muan, with both his wife and his mother, the latter with the "mother of" title in her name string (figure 8.2). Similar phrases occur in the name sequences of the

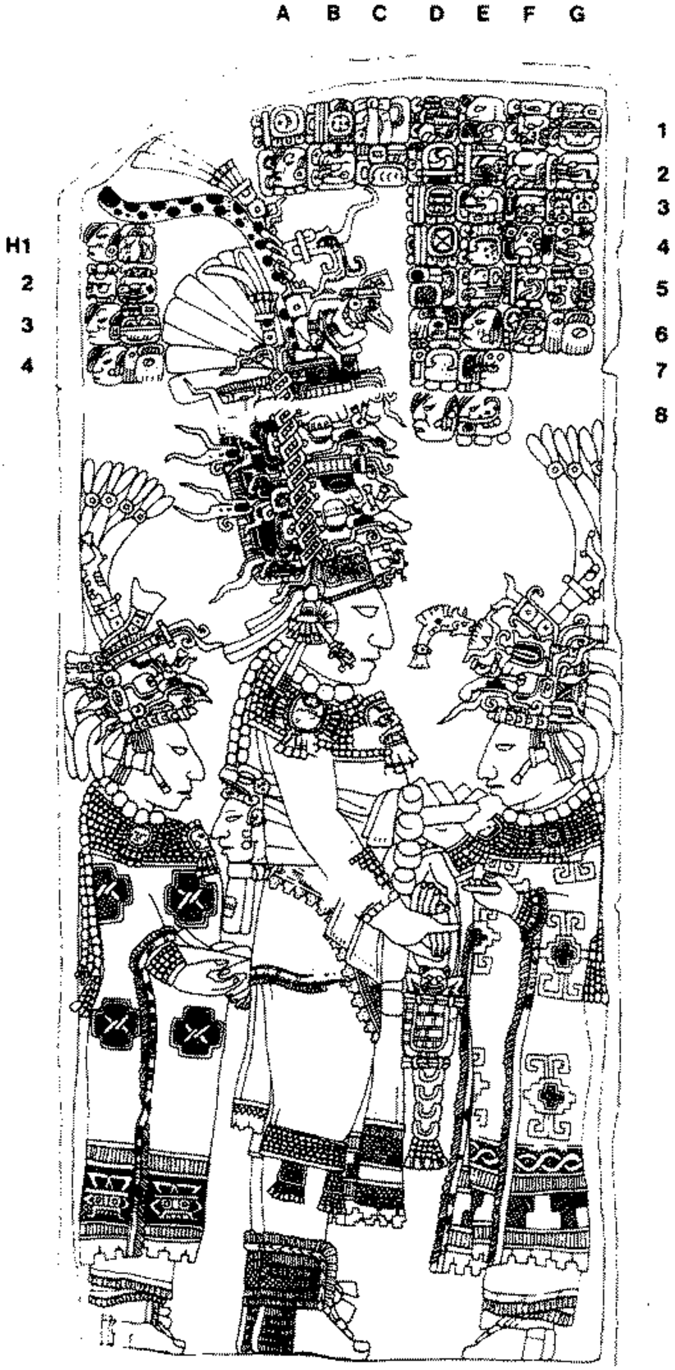


Figure 8.2. Stela 2, Bonampak; drawing by Peter Mathews (1980: 62). The ruler, Chan Muan, stands between his wife, to the left, and his mother, to the right. Part of her name and title phrase, which begins at E6, reads "mother of Lord Chan Muan" (F1–F2).

women shown on Stela 9 from La Florida; on Lintel 1, Structure 33, at Yaxchilán; and elsewhere. Kinship relations and kinship terms associated with women in hieroglyphic texts include the following:

"*mother* of"	(unknown term)
"child of *mother*"	*'al*
"*child* of father"	*nich*
"*sibling* of"	*yitah*
"*wife* of"	*yatan*
"brother of *mother*"	*yichan*

Perhaps the most intriguing example of a woman's kin relationships comes from Yaxchilán, in the front-edge text of Lintel 23 (figure 8.3), over the door to a back room of the famous Structure 23 (the building with the beautiful bloodletting lintels now in the British Museum). The underside, or face, surface of this lintel is solid text, though somewhat eroded, and it tells more of the story of Lady Xoc, the principal wife of Shield Jaguar. The building itself must have been Lady Xoc's residence, for all four lintels associated with it feature her as the visual or text protagonist, and the text on the edge of the back room lintel, which refers to the dedication of the new doorway, identifies the house as belonging to her: "On 10 *Muluc* 17 *Uo* [20 March 724 C.E.], the doorway of the house of Lady Xoc was dedicated." The text continues with a lengthy expansion of her name phrase that gives her pedigree, including both her parents' names as well as those of two well-married female relatives.[4] But, most interestingly, the very last phrase names Lady Xoc as the "*mother* of" someone otherwise unknown at Yaxchilán.[5] In the dynastic history of Yaxchilán (Proskouriakoff 1963, 1964), there is a ten-year interregnum between the death of Shield Jaguar and the accession of his son, Bird Jaguar (documented on Yaxchilán Stela 12). The existence of a son by Shield Jaguar's primary wife would explain what was going on during that ten-year interregnum between the rulership of the king and his eventual heir, Bird Jaguar, who was the son of a secondary wife. And it may explain why Bird Jaguar put up so many retrospective monuments, several linking his own mother to his father in scenes parallel to those his father had erected showing himself and his primary wife, Lady Xoc.

Social Status

There is abundant archaeological evidence of the prominence of women in Classic Maya society. High-status burials of women, some of them quite spectacular, have been documented at many sites, including Altar de Sacrificios (Adams 1971;

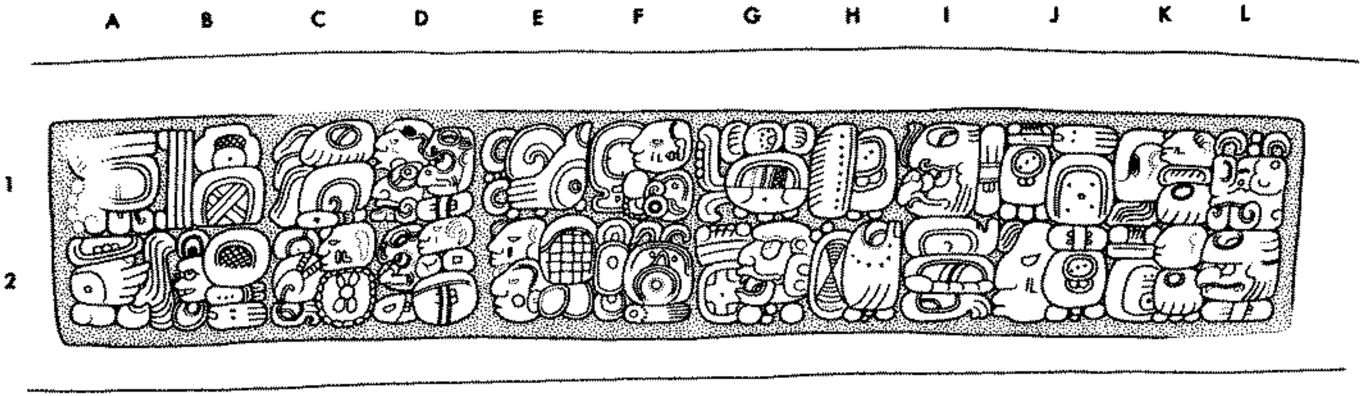


Figure 8.3. Edge text, Lintel 23, Yaxchilán; drawing by Ian Graham (1982: 135). One of a series of building dedication statements, the text gives the parentage and other kinship relations of Lady Xoc and states (L1–L2) that she is the "mother of" an otherwise unknown person (named at K2a).

Smith 1972), Piedras Negras (Coe 1959), Santa Rita (Chase and Chase 1987), Tayasal (Chase 1985), Tikal (Haviland 1977, 1997), and Yaxchilán (García Moll et al. 1990). Some of these burials are accompanied by rich grave goods, and some have associated hieroglyphic texts. The personal jewelry of a woman from Piedras Negras seems to have been passed down to her descendant and buried with him (Coe 1959: fig. 53), and the bones of a royal woman are revered in a recorded ceremony in Tikal, on Altar 5 (figure 8.4). Temple II, a major structure in the central plaza at Tikal, was apparently constructed to commemorate the wife of Ruler A (Haviland 1977).

As noted above, women held titles that otherwise were used by males (Lady Cahal, Lady Chac-Te, Lady Bacab, Lady Ahau), a point discussed by Hewitt

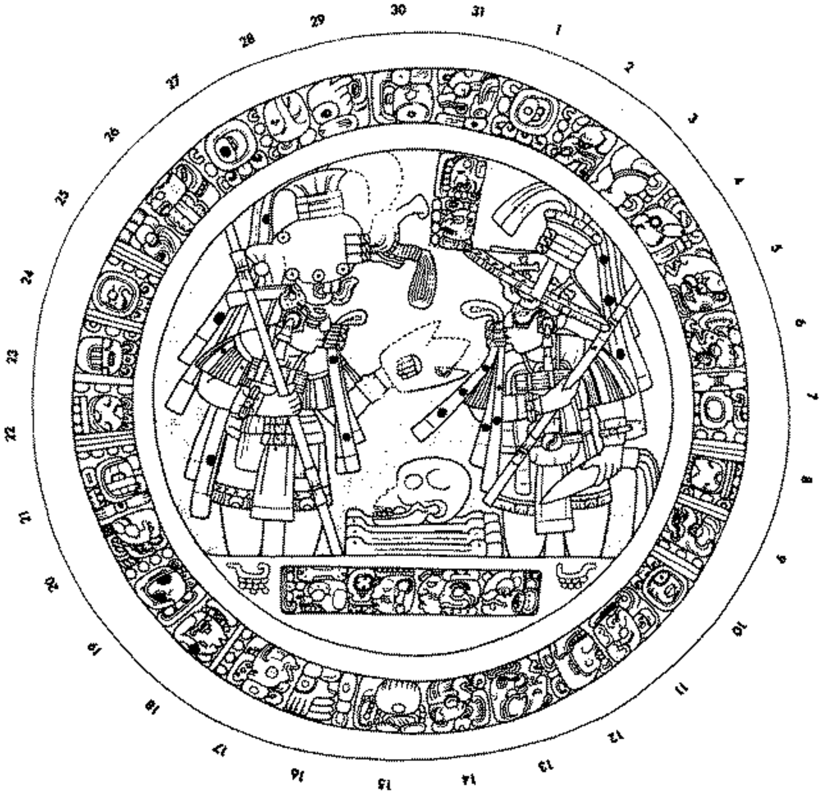


Figure 8.4. Altar 5, Tikal; drawing by William Coe (Jones and Satterthwaite 1982: fig. 23). Two men with bloodletting costumes and paraphernalia kneel over a stack of bones, identified in the text below as "the bones of Great-Lady Lady [undeciphered name]."

(1999). Conversely, some males took titles from their wives. In the Palenque Sarcophagus Rim inscription, the husband of Lady Zac Kuk is named with the emblem glyph title that corresponds to rulers: Kan Bahlum Mo', "Holy Palenque Lord." But *she* ruled, not he (as evidenced by the report that she, as ruler, performed the Period-Ending rites mentioned in the same clause); he apparently received this title through his relationship to her.

Women's importance in residential groups is reflected in the assignment of buildings and temples to noble women. Haviland (1981) has reported on a residential complex at Tikal associated with descendants of the "Woman of Tikal" referenced on Stela 23. At Yaxchilán, several downtown buildings might be termed "women's houses," where wives and mothers of rulers resided, or perhaps their family homes, where their male kinsmen held sway. On the first terrace up from the main plaza, where the buildings face the river, the great ceremonial stairway rises to the Structure 33 acropolis. On either side of this stairway are buildings where women are prominent in the texts and images that decorate the stone residences. Structure 22 is the old "palace" associated with Shield Jaguar. Farther to its right are two buildings in an L-shape, Structures 23 and 24. Structure 24 might be thought of as a dowager queen's house; its three lintels commemorate the death dates of Shield Jaguar's mother, Lady Pacal, of his principal wife, Lady Xoc, and of Lady Ix Skull, the mother of Shield Jaguar's heir. But the end of the text asserts that the protagonist of the three lintels, and of the building, is Lady Xoc.

Next to Structure 22 is Structure 23, the quintessential Lady Xoc building, with its three great lintels portraying her in ceremonial activities related to her husband's war endeavors and a fourth lintel, from a back room, celebrating her relationship to Shield Jaguar in an extensive hieroglyphic text. Across the plaza, yet another woman from Shield Jaguar's reign is mentioned in the dedication text of Structure 11, not far from Structure 13, whose texts indicate its association with Lady Ik Skull, Shield Jaguar's later wife and Bird Jaguar's mother.

Bird Jaguar's own domestic arrangements are even more extensive. Many buildings at Yaxchilán are associated with him (Tate 1992), but because we can hardly propose that he resided in all of them, we may instead suppose that they were home to, or were associated with, the secondary protagonists in the building's hieroglyphic texts. This hypothesis yields two major axes in Bird Jaguar's marital alliances. The first is with the Great Skull family: his wife, Lady Great Skull, her brother, Lord Great Skull or Chac Cimi (perhaps "Red Death"), a *cahal* (chieftain) subordinate to Bird Jaguar and *yichan* (maternal uncle) to the heir, Chel Te. Their buildings include a downtown residence, Structure 20, on the left of the Great Stairway, and the nearby Structure 2, a ceremonial building, with its "flap-staff" (probably a solstice-associated event)[6] between Lord Great Skull and Bird Jaguar. A good way farther along the same terrace are Structures 54 and 55, the Great Skull family residence and Lady Great Skull's own suburban refuge, respectively.

Bird Jaguar's other marital and martial alliance was with Kan Tan, who appears in association with two more women linked to Bird Jaguar, either secondary wives or special female attendants: Lady Ah Po Ik and Lady Balam Ix Witz. The ladies are shown in ballgame/vision serpent lintels on Structure 16 and in bloodletting and war-vesting lintels from Structure 42 (atop the Western Acropolis), where Kan Tan is also shown with Bird Jaguar in a military ceremony shortly after Bird Jaguar's accession to power. When women are associated with two men, one may well be the husband, but the other must represent her birth family, either a father or brother. Kan Tan and the two women also appear in the lintels of Structure 1, a large palace on a high terrace east of the central plaza, where each woman is shown holding a bundle, in attendance on Bird Jaguar (figure 8.5). Bird Jaguar and Kan Tan appear on the central doorway lintel and also on a side door lintel, Lintel 8, the famous commemoration of Bird Jaguar's capture of Jeweled Skull. This would seem to be the Kan Tan family home, and its status is derived as much from the two women who were companions to Bird Jaguar as from the status of their male kinsman, Kan Tan.

Ritual Activity

Ethnographically, while Maya societies are often portrayed from a male-centered point of view, on closer inspection gender roles in Maya societies show complementarity in various spheres of action. Males produce food by agricultural labor, but females process the products of the field to make them edible, and there are few households that do not contain both genders (Vogt 1969: 32–33). The roles of men and women are likewise complementary in the ceremonial activities associated with the civil-religious hierarchies, cargo systems, and *cofradías* (Joyce 1992b; Mathews 1985). We know from modern ethnography that ritual activity all over Mesoamerica requires both male and female participants. The frequent pairing of king and wife at Yaxchilán, Calakmul, and elsewhere seems to indicate a similar involvement for women in rituals in the Classic Maya world. Males may perform most publicly viewed activities, but they cannot serve in office without wives to perform other rituals offstage and to organize less public ceremonies, from maintaining a household altar to the saint for the year of office to producing the all-important ritual meals of Maya ceremonial life. Wives acquire status from such service, as evidenced by special clothing (e.g., the highland Chiapas and

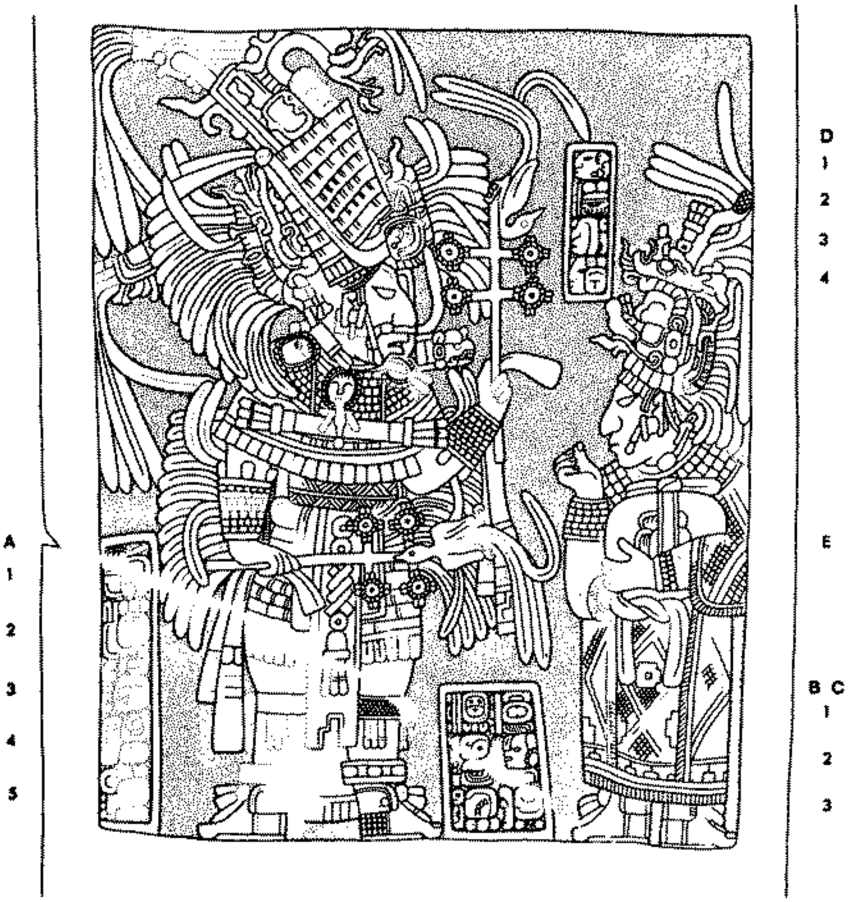


Figure 8.5. Lintel 5, Yaxchilán; drawing by Ian Graham (Graham and von Euw 1977: 21). Bird Jaguar (left) stands facing a secondary wife, Lady Ah Po Ik, whose name phrase is above her head (D1–D4).

Guatemalan *huipiles de mayordomía* featured in textile museums, such as the Museo Ix Chel in Guatemala City or Sna Jolobil in San Cristóbal, Chiapas, Mexico). Classic period women seem to have enjoyed similar instances of parallel statuses, as they are frequently shown dressed in special clothing, accompanying their husbands in ritual activity.

Rituals and other ceremonial occasions portrayed on Classic monuments include a variety of distinct occasions:

1. *Accession* to office (usually accession to kingship but occasionally accession to lesser positions). Accession monuments do not usually depict women, but notable exceptions include Stela 14, the accession monument of Piedras Negras Ruler 5, which shows the ruler seated in a niche with his mother standing below him (figure 8.6), and Structure 33 of Yaxchilán, which commemorates Bird Jaguar's accession. Lintel 1 (figure 8.7) shows Bird Jaguar and his wife, Lady Great Skull; she holds a sacred bundle, and her husband displays a God K scepter.
2. *Heir recognition,* perhaps a form of *initiation* to public life (what Bassie-Sweet calls "first lineage events" [1991: 200–19]), and other status-conferring ceremonies in which individuals receive paraphernalia and, presumably, titles, rights, and duties. For example, the image shown on the Palace Tablet from Palenque (figure 8.8) includes a male on the left and a female on the right of the central figure, each offering ritual implements associated with kingship (Schele 1979).
3. *Calendrically and astronomically determined ceremonies* (Period-Ending rites, solstice rituals). Women are shown as both primary and secondary participants in Period-Ending rituals; for example, Lady Six Sky from Naranjo celebrates the 9.13.0.0.0 Period Ending on Stela 24 (figure 8.9), in the costume and with the bloodletting implements associated with male rulers. Women do not seem to be shown in monuments commemorating solstice or other astronomical events, but their costumes do include references to the celestial sphere; on Yaxchilán Lintel 24 (figure 8.10), Lady Xoc wears a *huipil* with the cosmological diamond motif still used in highland Chiapas textiles (Morris 1987: 105–10), and the sleeve edge of the *huipil* is trimmed with a sky band motif.
4. *Court audiences,* some of which apparently stress military alliances, while others appear to be concerned with royal succession. Very few court scenes are represented in monumental sculpture; they are more commonly shown in scenes on polychrome vases, in which women are frequent participants. Women also appear in the murals from Structure 1 at Bonampak as observers of the ritual activities portrayed therein (Miller 1986: 64–66, 129, 146–48).
5. *Bloodletting rituals,* both sacrifice of captives and various forms of autosacrifice, including a variety known as the "vision serpent" ritual (Winter 1991). These scenes, which involve a person holding or confronting a serpent, often appear in three-scene sequences that have been interpreted as three phases of a bloodletting ritual (Schele and Miller 1986: 186–90).

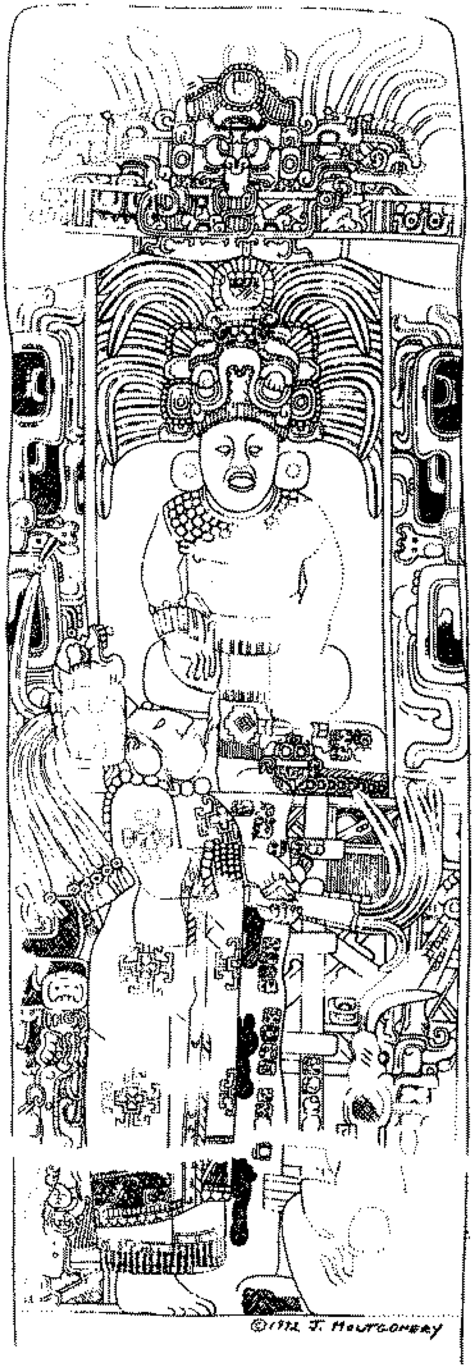


Figure 8.6. Stela 14, Piedras Negras; drawing by John Montgomery (1997). The daughter of Ruler 3 of Piedras Negras, Lady Day, stands holding a feather wand below her son, Ruler 5, on the occasion of his accession to the throne.

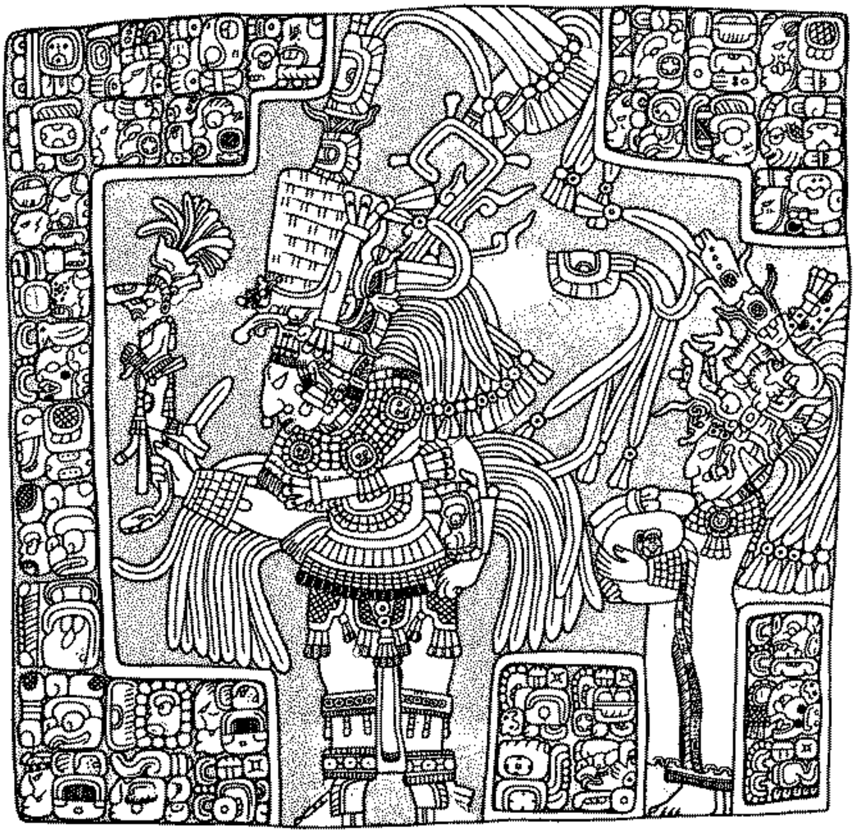


Figure 8.7. Lintel 1, Yaxchilán; drawing by Ian Graham (Graham and von Euw 1977: 13). Lady Great Skull accompanies her husband Bird Jaguar in a royal ceremony on the occasion of his accession to rule. The text behind her includes the appellative phrase "mother of Shield Jaguar."

In this interpretation, a bloodletting scene featuring a woman precedes the serpent scene, and the scene following features the woman's husband and deals with warfare. The serpent scene shows a woman facing a serpent that rises from a collection of bloodletting paraphernalia; out of the mouth of the serpent comes a human figure interpreted as an ancestor. This ritual is believed to portray the invocation of ancestors in support of military action. The most famous of these scenes are from Yaxchilán, including Lintels 15, 25 (figure 8.11), 38, and 40. Many monuments from various sites show women with bloodletting implements, especially the quadripartite badge, composed of bowl, stingray spine, cloth knot, and *spondylus* shell (see figure 8.2, Bonampak Stela 2, and figure 8.9, Naranjo Stela 24).

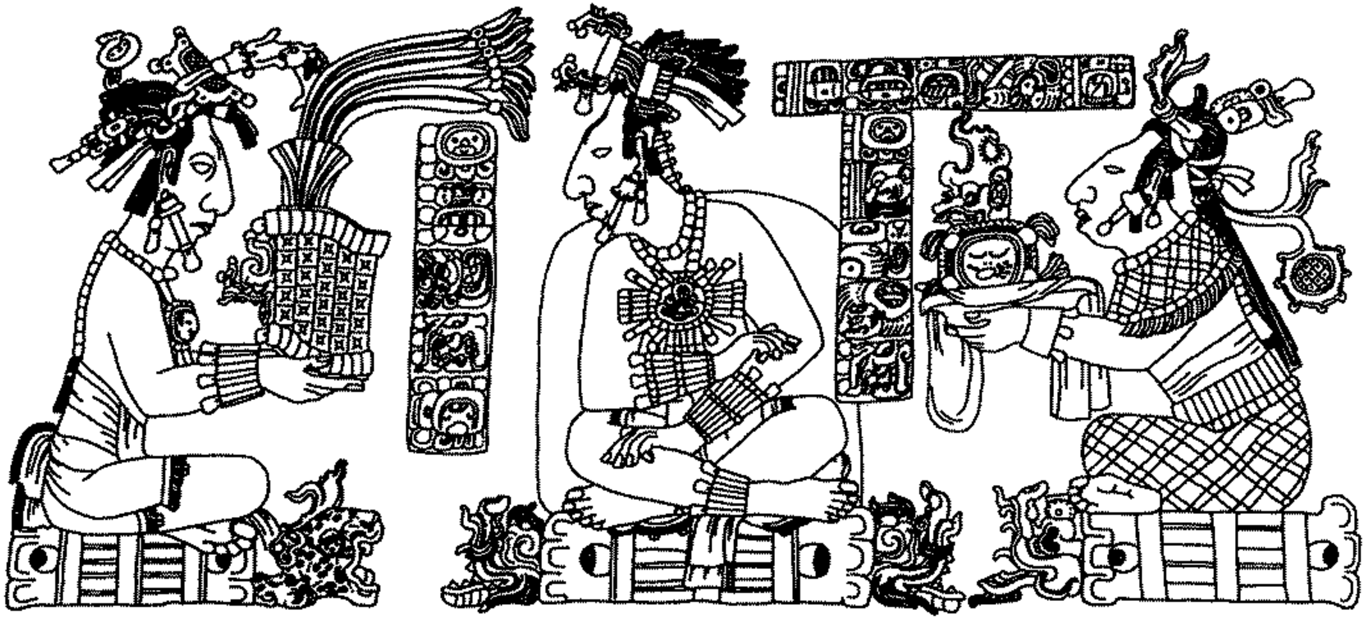


Figure 8.8. Caption text and image, the Palace Tablet, Palenque; drawing by Linda Schele (Schele and Miller 1986: 115). A male (left) and a female (right) offer the seated lord the symbols of authority. While the figures are not named in this scene, parallel scenes identify the male and female as parents of the future king.

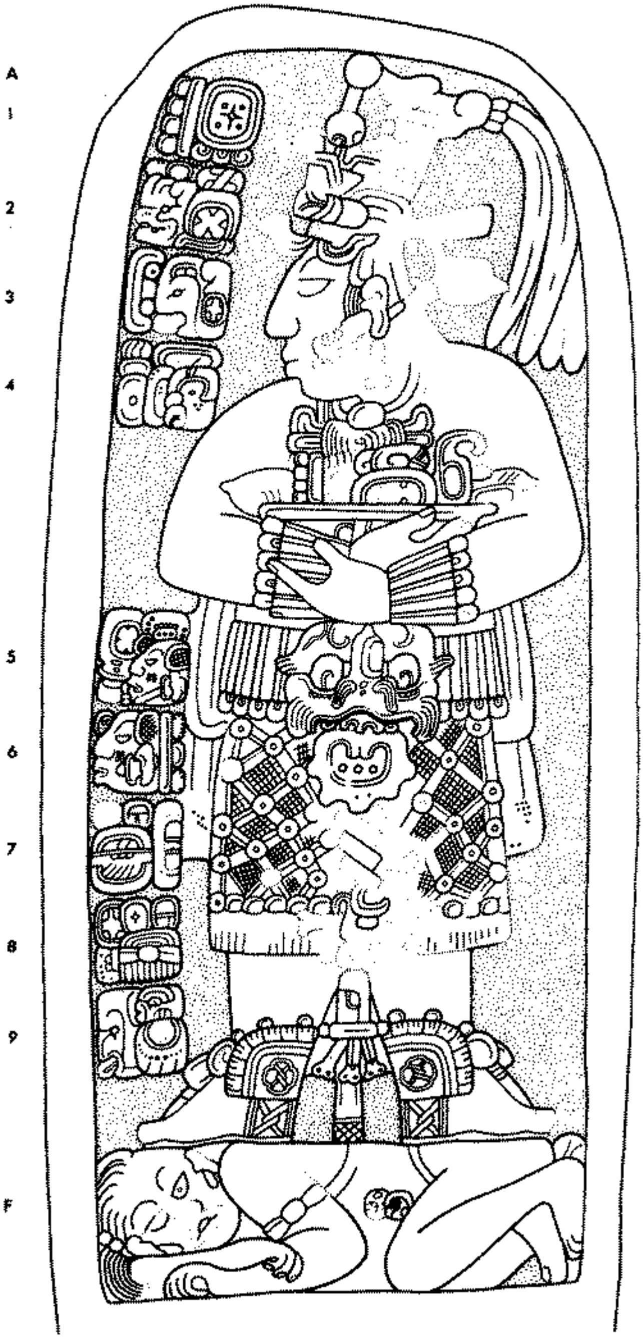


Figure 8.9. Stela 24, Naranjo; drawing by Ian Graham (Graham and von Euw 1975: 63). Lady Six Sky of Naranjo stands on a prisoner, holding bloodletting implements, celebrating a Period Ending. Her name phrase (A5–A9) begins with a "queen" title and ends with the "Holy Lord of Dos Pilas, Bacab" titles.

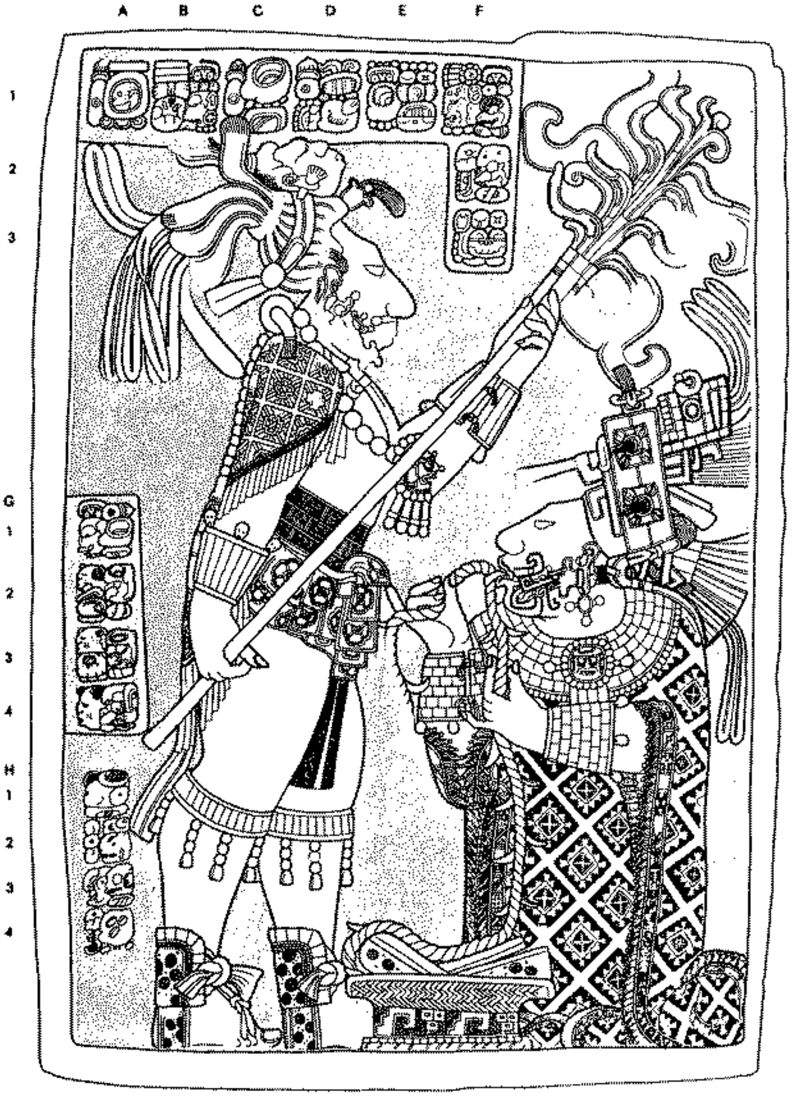


Figure 8.10. Lintel 24, Yaxchilán; drawing by Ian Graham (Graham and von Euw 1977: 53). Lady Xoc kneels for a bloodletting rite, wearing a *huipil* whose body is decorated with cosmograms (diamond shapes with cross motifs) and trimmed with a sky-band fringe.

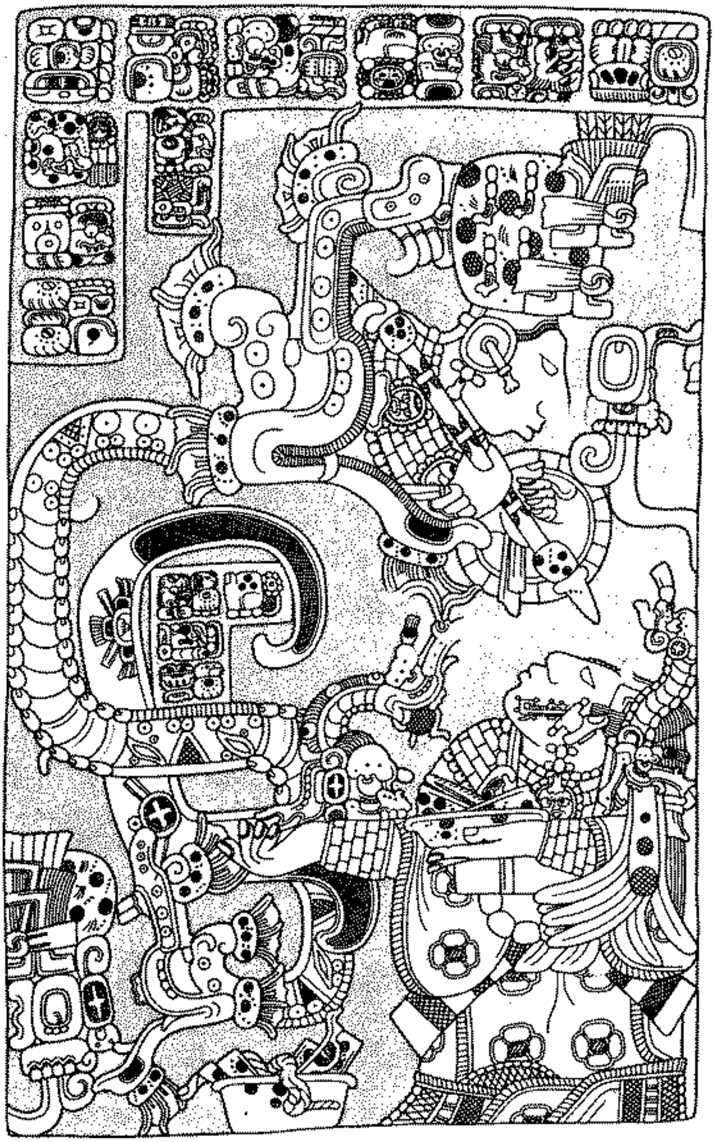


Figure 8.11. Lintel 25, Yaxchilán; drawing by Ian Graham (Graham and von Euw 1977: 55). Lady Xoc, holding a bowl of bloodletting implements, kneels before a "vision serpent," out of whose mouth emerges a human warrior. The text is intentionally reversed; the smaller text segments give her names and titles.

6. *Public displays of ritual objects* associated with kingship, such as "holding God K" and other scepter-holding appearances, or scenes associated with *warfare*, including vesting for combat and actual combat but especially capture or presentation of captives. In many of these scenes, women accompany their husbands; the women often hold bundles of sacred implements, as in Lintel 1 from Yaxchilán (figure 8.7). Yaxchilán Lintel 26 (figure 8.12) shows Lady Xoc holding a jaguar headdress that her husband, Shield Jaguar, is about to don; he is shown wearing this headdress in Lintel 4. Several other monuments from Palenque show scenes with both parents flanking the future king. In all the examples with three figures, the male offers a regal headdress while the female offers another ceremonial object, usually an opened cache pot with an eccentric flint and a small shield, the icon for *tok'-pakal* (flint shield), a compound noun referring to warfare.[7]
7. *Ball playing* (sometimes a form of ritual sacrifice). Although women are never shown as ballplayers, they do appear in association with the game, for example, on Hieroglyphic Stair 2 from Yaxchilán, where Step I seems to show a woman putting a ball into play and Step II features a woman holding a vision serpent, which must be part of the pre-game rituals (figure 8.13).
8. *God impersonation* (or "dancing" as a mythical personality). There are several examples of males wearing god masks (Yaxchilán Stela 11, Quiriguá Stela C), but I have not been able to locate any examples of women performing these rituals.

Combinations of these events may also appear (e.g., holding a scepter over kneeling prisoners, accession in the presence of a court audience, performing a blood sacrifice on a Period Ending). The events portrayed on the monumental images are related to, but not necessarily the same as, the events related in the accompanying inscriptions. Within the image area there are usually short caption texts that identify the actors and describe the action, but sometimes the text describes another part of the ritual, not shown in the image. Bassie-Sweet calls this text–image "coupleting" (1991: 41).

An interesting detail in ritual roles is the continuity of costume; it appears that the same rituals required the same costumes, even through later generations and at other sites, as we see in Period-Ending rituals and in several examples of the vision serpent ritual at Yaxchilán (including several steps from Hieroglyphic Stair 2 from Structure 33 and Lintels 38, 39, and 40 from Structure 16). Modern Maya textiles from the Chiapas highlands show very similar designs, which have been identified by the weavers as representing the Maya cosmos: diamonds,

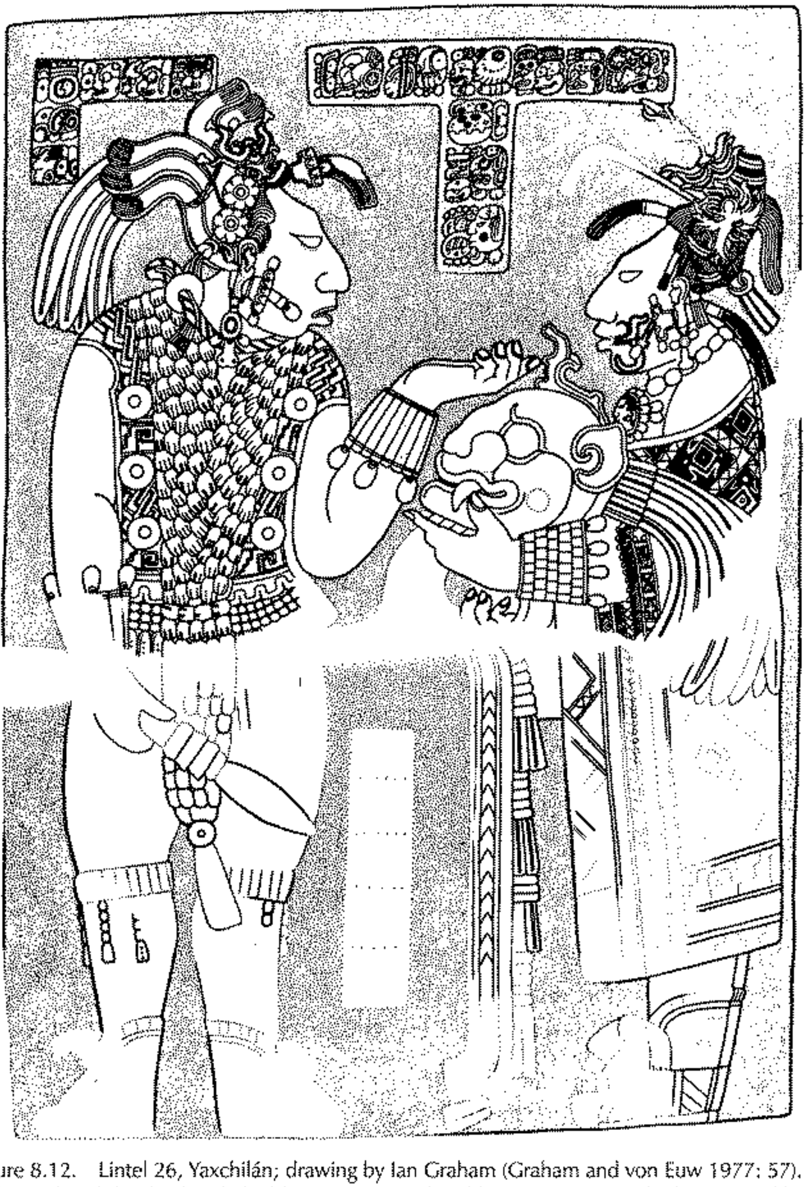
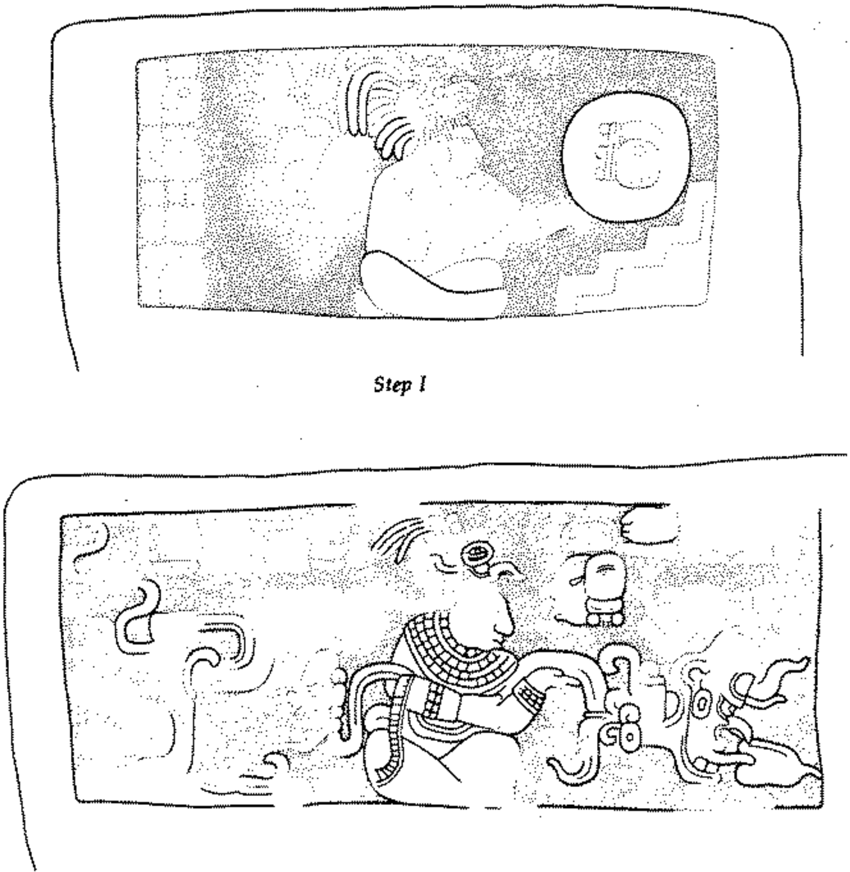


Figure 8.12. Lintel 26, Yaxchilán; drawing by Ian Graham (Graham and von Euw 1977: 57). Lady Xoc hands her husband Shield Jaguar a jaguar headdress. He wears quilted armor and holds a knife. The text associated with her is eroded.



Step I

Step II

Figure 8.13. Hieroglyphic Stair 2, Steps I and II, Yaxchilán; drawing by Ian Graham (1982: 156). These badly eroded stairs, part of Temple 33's famous ballgame stair, show a woman putting a ball into play (Step I) and Lady Pacal, mother of Bird Jaguar, holding a "vision serpent" (Step II).

representing the world and the path of the sun, or quatrefoil openings, representing the portals between the levels of existence (underworld, earthly realm, celestial realm). These textiles are still worn today in many traditional Tzotzil villages, such as San Andrés Larrainzar, Magdalenas, and Zinacantán (Morris 1984, 1987).

The costumes worn for Period-Ending rites were also stylized, for both men and women, requiring skirts and sometimes capes fashioned of tubular and round jade beads. Women's costumes were distinguished by belts with the *xoc* fish/

iguana head and a large *spondylus* (spiny oyster) half shell worn over the lower abdomen (Miller 1974: 154) (figure 8.14). Men's waist ornaments included jade heads over clusters of three jade celts worn atop a loincloth decorated with the icon of holiness, the image of God C. There is some evidence of the complementarity of gender roles in Period-Ending rituals (Gillespie and Joyce 1997; Joyce 1996a), both in the number of monument pairs with male and female protagonists and in the occasional examples of male rulers assuming female costumes on monuments commemorating these events (18 Rabbit of Copan, on Stela H) or using female kin terms with respect to their tutelary deities (Chan Bahlum of Palenque, on the Tablet of the Foliated Cross).

Political Roles: Women, Warfare, and Alliances

Virtually any author writing about interaction and alliances among Maya cities will discuss the importance of women in uniting distinct polities (e.g., Culbert 1991; Marcus 1992). Schele and Mathews (1991: 245) cite various reasons behind interdynastic marriage alliances: they strengthen the bonds between old friends and allies, contribute to local prestige, or form alliances in times of political stress. Conversely, royal marriages may be imposed on weaker partners. Schele and Mathews note that "all known instances of royal interdynastic marriages date to Late Classic times; some were between neighboring polities, while others involved polities hundreds of miles apart" (1991: 245). Hammond (1991: 272) observes that the patterns of visits and warfare described by Schele and Mathews (1991) are mutually exclusive, while those of visits and royal marriages are partly congruent, as between Yaxchilán and Bonampak or between Yaxchilán and El Perú. Mathews and Willey (1991: 55–56, 62) discuss Dos Pilas marriages, including a woman from Dos Pilas who appears at Naranjo. Adams (1971) notes double elite burials after 9.16.1.0.0; a "Jaguar" woman died at Altar de Sacrificios, and Bird Jaguar of Yaxchilán as well as a Tikal Jaguar came to the funeral, along with Chamá kinsmen.

Marriage can improve one's status; this is almost universally true, no less so among the Classic Maya. Usurpers regularly marry female heirs to thrones, and lesser noble males marry younger daughters or sisters of higher ranking men. Today, Maya wives are active information collectors and strategists in the "social work" of a family (Devereaux 1987: 95). The court scenes portrayed on Classic Maya ceramics often depict women in accessory roles; who cannot imagine that their information gathering and gossip played a part in court intrigue and external affairs?

Marriage imposes a relationship of obligation on the man's lineage; his newly

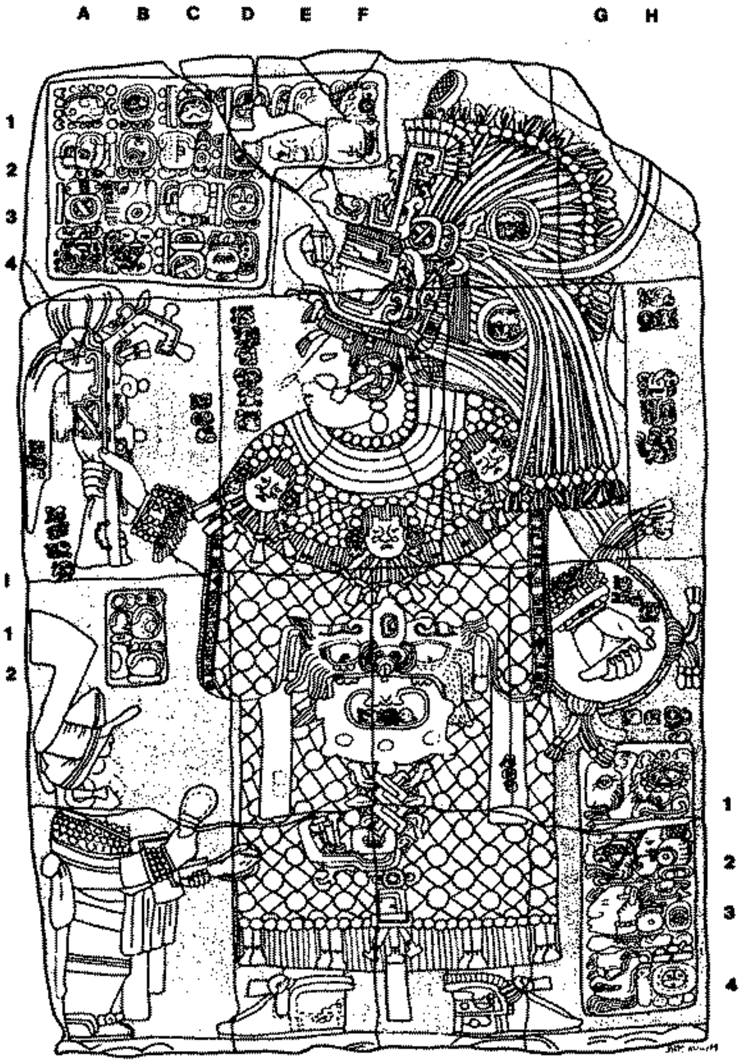


Figure 8.14. The Cleveland Stela, Calakmul; drawing by Jeffrey H. Miller (1974: 151). A royal female, whose name appears beneath her shield (H2), wears the *Xoc* fish and spiny oyster belt array associated with the female version of the jade skirt worn for Period-Ending rituals. Her name phrase includes the title "Lady Chac-te" (G3).

acquired affinal kin have given him a woman, and he is in their debt. In modern Maya societies, this is recognized both by bride-price and in the years of bride service that follow marriage, when a man works his father-in-law's lands before returning to his own patrilineal lands. But the relationship is reciprocal, and the husband can call on his wife's kin for support in economic and political undertakings and confrontations. This alliance between husband and brother-in-law has military overtones at Yaxchilán. Bird Jaguar's primary wife's brother, Lord Great Skull, is shown prominently in Structure 20, with war captives on one lintel and bloodletting with his sister on another; and the central lintel links Lady Great Skull and Bird Jaguar in a vision serpent scene. At Structure 54 (figure 8.15), farther out from the center of town, Great Skull appears holding an axe at attention to Bird Jaguar, who holds a God K scepter. Bird Jaguar's other two wives, Laky Ah Po Ik and Lady Balam Ix Witz, are associated with Kan Tan, who appears as Bird Jaguar's war chief on Lintel 42. So women, as wives, were links between families in military alliances.

In the ethnographic data, long-term relationships develop between patrilines based on the reciprocal exchange of women (Hopkins 1969). This kind of continuing relationship seems to be reflected in the alternating Skull and Jaguar family names held by the kings and elite families of Yaxchilán (as recorded on the lintels of Structure 12). Another indication of the importance given to marriage alliances by Maya rulers is suggested by Lintel 21 and the other lintels of Structure 22 at Yaxchilán. This structure features four lintels, three of which are Early Classic lintels; the fourth is a Late Classic lintel bearing the (re)dedication date of the building. The dated events indicate that seven days after his accession as ruler of Yaxchilán, Bird Jaguar rededicated this building, which features reset lintels honoring his wife's Skull family ancestors, and the dedication inscription (Lintel 21) recalls the original dedication of the "house of . . . Moon Skull" (an Early Classic ruler recognized as the seventh ruler of Yaxchilán in the inscriptions of Structure 12).

What are the extended implications of these family relationships that center on women? Women were not just wives and mothers; they also represented families, families that continued to be their primary kin, even after they married. We see the evidence for this representation especially at Yaxchilán, where women are shown linked not only with their husbands and sons but also with their brothers—specifically linking the brother and the husband in the lintels of individual buildings. For example, Bird Jaguar's principal wife, Lady Chac Cimi (Great Skull), often appears in association with a male of the same name, who can be shown to be her brother (see below). Some of these buildings may be family homes of Lord Chac Cimi (Structure 54, perhaps Structure 2). When the heir,

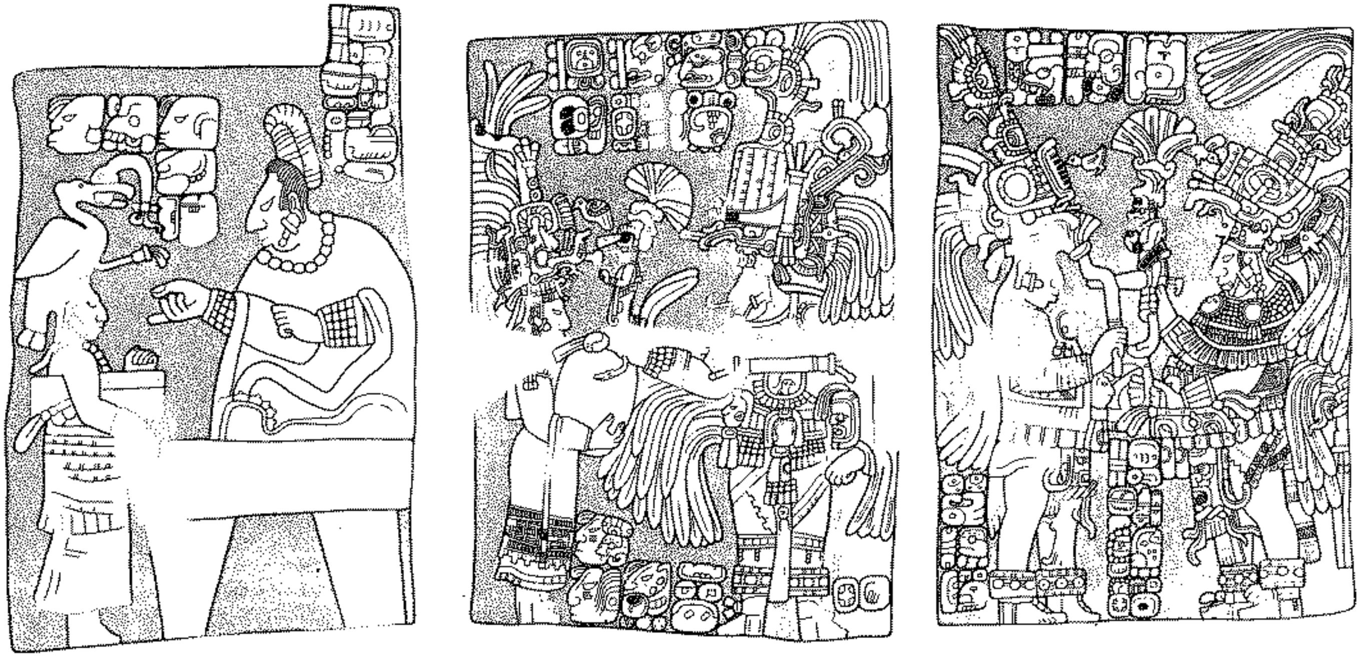


Figure 8.15. Lintels 57, 54, and 58, Structure 54, Yaxchilán; drawings by Ian Graham (1979: 117, 123, 125). On Lintel 57 (left), Lady Great Skull is shown with her son, Chel Te; her name begins above his head. On Lintel 54 (center), she is shown with her husband, Bird Jaguar. On Lintel 58, her brother, Great Skull, is identified in the text as the *yichan* (maternal uncle) (C1) of Chel Te; the other figure, the ruler, is not clearly identified.

Chel Te (Shield Jaguar II), was born, Bird Jaguar featured the child prominently in monumental texts and images. Even the wife's brother, Chac Cimi, used the heir for self-aggrandizement and used the kin term *yichan* "uncle (specifically, mother's brother) of the prince," as a title. Lintel 9 of Structure 2 shows Bird Jaguar and Great Skull in a "flap-staff" ritual, naming Great Skull as the *yichan ahau* "uncle of the lord (heir)." Structure 54's three lintels show Lady Great Skull with her son on Lintel 57 and with her husband, Bird Jaguar, on Lintel 54 above the central door. Over the right-hand door, Lintel 58 depicts Bird Jaguar (or a grown-up Chel Te?) holding a manikin scepter facing Lord Chac Cimi (Great Skull), who carries a war axe. The only text on this last lintel is about Chac Cimi, with the title *yichan* Chel Te, "uncle of Chel Te," displayed prominently between the two men (figure 8.15).

Structures 23 and 21 at Yaxchilán give us evidence of the association of women's ritual activities with warfare and raiding. The sequence of autosacrifice followed by "vision serpent" scene is completed with a third lintel whose image is associated with warfare. Lintel 26 from Structure 23 shows Shield Jaguar vesting for battle, in quilted cotton armor, holding a spear, being offered his jaguar headdress by his wife, Lady Xoc (figure 8.12). Lintel 4 from Structure 34 shows Bird Jaguar fully dressed in this outfit. The three lintels from Structure 21 feature Bird Jaguar in the same iconographic program but with a different wife on each of the side doors, one doing the bloodletting, the other with the vision serpent, while the central doorway depicts Bird Jaguar in the same quilted armor, with spear and shield, standing beside a cowering prisoner of war. This association of women with warfare is also seen at other sites. At Palenque, several wall panels show scenes of three people, usually parents flanking a son, and the woman in each set hands over the shield and flint of the warrior (figure 8.8).

So, what one gets when one exchanges women in a marriage alliance system may very well be military support from the wife's family. The wife's brother becomes the war ally who fights alongside the king. At Naranjo, the situation is even clearer. A high-status wife, Lady Six Sky (Wak Chanil Ahau),[8] was imported from Dos Pilas (she was once thought to be from Tikal; the emblem glyph is the same). Her son would be the next king. But while he was still a mere child, Naranjo embarked on major military campaigns against Ucanal and Yaxhá. Given what we are discovering about the role of women in military alliances, these campaigns may well have been under the direction (or at least the sponsorship) of Lady Six Sky (Wak Chanil Ahau) herself, and if her male kinsmen were too far away to do battle themselves, they must certainly have sent a contingent of warriors with the lady. On Stela 24 she shows herself in a ruler's costume and pose, astride a captive (figure 8.9).

Women as Dynastic Links

What else do we know about these women, beyond knowing that they were wives, mothers, and sisters of important men? Usually, they are subsidiary figures, accompanying their male kin. Rarely, they can be identified as the "owners" of buildings, as seen at Yaxchilán (Structures 11 and 23). Occasionally, they are shown as the major figure on a monument or in a text, and these rather exceptional pieces are worth a closer look. Two sites from the western lowlands, Palenque and Piedras Negras, have two important female protagonists each.

At Piedras Negras there are several monuments plus some small shell objects that tell the story of a young woman who seems to have been brought to Piedras Negras as a bride (whether for the old king, Ruler 2, or for his son is unclear). Ruler 2 died during the five-day ceremony that begins the story, and at the end of this period the son, now Ruler 3, married the girl, Lady Night (or Lady Katun Ahau, or Lady Maní).[9] Twenty years later, her husband celebrated the one-*katun* anniversary of his accession and erected Stela 1 (figure 8.16), which shows his wife standing, holding a feather whisk, surrounded by a lengthy text that recapitulates this tale and concludes with the phrase *u bah ti omib* which might be read "she continues as the beloved one."

Five years later, Ruler 3 erected another stela, Stela 3, with his wife on the backside, seated on a throne, but this time there is a small child seated next to her (figure 8.17). The text again recounts the story of Lady Night's birth and the *nawah* event that has been interpreted as the marriage ceremony.[10] The text continues by recounting the birth of a daughter, Lady Day (Lady Kin),[11] and concludes with a mention of Lady Night's participation in the 9.14.0.0.0 Period-Ending rituals, when the child was about five years old.

The story continues some seventeen years later with the marriage of the daughter, now about twenty years old, to the man who thereby became Ruler 4 of Piedras Negras. This last piece of the tale of two women is told on four shell plaques (Stuart 1985). The first three plaques repeat the story of Lady Night, and the fourth adds the story of Lady Day's marriage to the new king of Piedras Negras. These pieces of wedding jewelry were apparently kept as heirlooms that documented the pedigree of the son of this couple, a son who became Ruler 5 of Piedras Negras—by virtue of his mother's claim to the throne, as the legitimate heir of Ruler 3. Some twenty-nine years after her marriage, Lady Day is shown on Stela 14, standing below her son on his accession monument (figure 8.6).

Perhaps the most famous of all Maya women is the mother of the great ruler of Palenque, Pacal, whose tomb and sarcophagus are deep inside the Temple of the Inscriptions. This king also inherited his right to rule from his mother, Lady

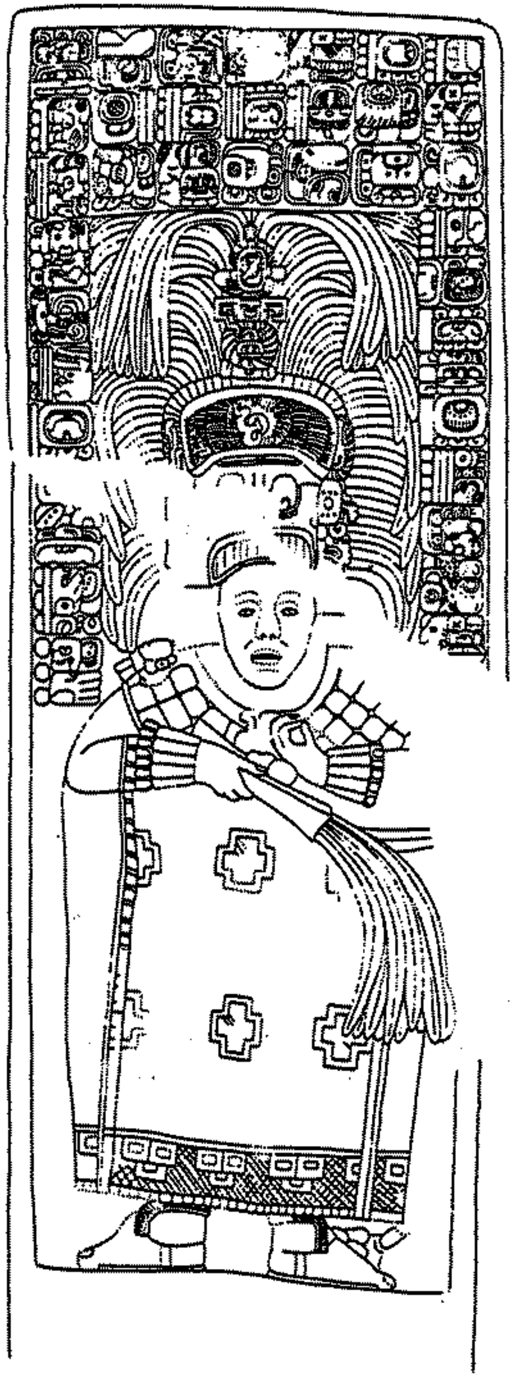


Figure 8.16. Stela 1, Piedras Negras; drawing by John Montgomery (1997). Lady Night of Piedras Negras stands beneath a text that relates her birth and marriage to Ruler 3 of Piedras Negras on the occasion of his twentieth anniversary in office.

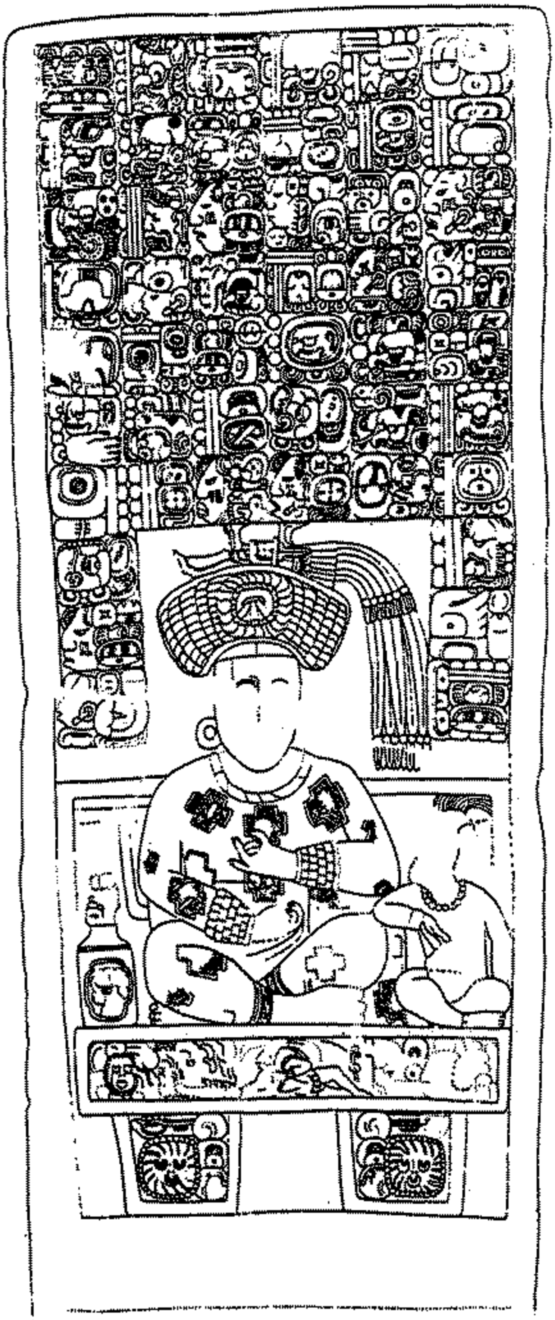


Figure 8.17. Stela 3, Piedras Negras; drawing by John Montgomery (1997). Lady Night of Piedras Negras sits on a throne beside her daughter, Lady Day, on the occasion of Ruler 3's twenty-fifth anniversary in office.

Zac Kuk, who is shown with him on the Oval Palace Tablet (figure 8.1). Genealogical information is particularly abundant at Palenque, and a lengthy dynastic chart can be constructed from the historical data from several monumental texts, including (from Pacal's reign) the tablets from the Temple of the Inscriptions and the Sarcophagus Rim itself. From the reign of Pacal's son Chan Bahlum,[12] a great deal of genealogical information can be found on the Tablet of the Cross and other tablets from the Cross Group temples. The much later Tablet of the 96 Glyphs, which commemorates the accession of Bahlum Kuk,[13] carries this information forward a number of generations.

The Sarcophagus Rim inscription gives us the most information on the two female rulers of Palenque: Lady Kanal Ikal,[14] who acceded in 9.7.10.3.8 (23 December 583 C.E.), and Lady Zac Kuk, who acceded in 9.8.19.7.18 (22 October 612 C.E.). Both of these women appear to have ruled in their own right, rather than having rulership pass to their husbands, as it did at Piedras Negras. On the other hand, at least in the case of Zac Kuk, rulership passed to her son Pacal at his majority (age twelve). The same may be true of Lady Kanal Ikal, who may have been the mother of the following short-lived king, Ac Kan, but we lack the details of parentage and succession at this point. These women appear to have carried on the duties appropriate to rulers, including Period-Ending rites, as indicated on the Tablet of the Inscriptions and on the Sarcophagus Rim inscription.

Also interesting is the identity of two of the men pictured on the sides of the Sarcophagus and mentioned in its rim text. They are not themselves rulers of Palenque, as are all the other people in this set of text and images. One of them is the dead king Pacal's own father, Kan Bahlum Mo'.[15] The other is the earlier Pacal, after whom the late king was apparently named. The clear implication is that these men were the spouses of the two queens. In the case of Kan Bahlum Mo', we know from multiple sources that he was Pacal's father, while Lady Zac Kuk was Pacal's mother, that is, she was Kan Bahlum Mo's wife. I believe that the earlier Pacal was similarly the spouse of the previous queen, Lady Kanal Ikal.

The children of these marriages should, by the rules of patrilineal descent, have belonged to the patrilineages of their fathers. Their accession as rulers has clear implications for the dynasty: as the children came to rule, rulership passed out of one patrilineage into another. The queens themselves were the last members of their patrilineages to rule; their children were the first members of new ruling patrilineages. Given that this is a situation the ruling patrilineage would like to avoid, the question that must be addressed is, When could women rule, and how does this relate to the patrilineal kinship system?

What is clear from data is that we must separate kinship affiliation and normal inheritance from political succession. In the Maya world, not unlike modern England, for purposes of succession it is more important to be the child of the previous ruler than it is to be male. That is, women *do* inherit the right to rule. Whether they do indeed rule in their own right or whether their husbands or sons arrogate that right probably depends on special local circumstances. At Tikal, Coggins (1975: 218–22) first identified "Woman of Tikal," shown on Stela 25, as a royal female. Martin and Grube (2000: 27, 38–39) have proposed that there were two "queens" at Tikal, women who carried the right to rule, though the official "rulers" of Tikal seem to have been their husbands. Even high-status female burials are limited to the early periods at Tikal (Haviland 1977).

At Piedras Negras, in the case of Rulers 3–5 discussed above, the husband of the daughter of Ruler 3 became Ruler 4. At Naranjo, the son of a woman from Dos Pilas (Lady Six Sky, or Lady Wak Chanil Ahau) became ruler, and war on Yaxhá began just after her arrival (with Tikal troops?). At Yaxchilán, women were prominent but did not themselves rule. And at Palenque, we have two good cases of daughters of rulers who ruled until their sons came of age. In light of these two cases, we might infer that having an infant son, a potential heir not yet old enough to succeed, might have been a critical factor in the accessions of these two women.

Were women dynasty founders? In a patrilineal society, women cannot be the founders of patrilines, but they are clearly revered as ancestors at Copan, Tikal, and Palenque, in tombs and in texts. What, then, explains this reverence? It must be their ability to unite two different patrilines, perhaps even two different ethnic groups, and to affect the passage of political power from one dynasty to another.

Conclusions

This brief introduction to women in Classic Maya monumental inscriptions is sufficient to show the potential for gender studies based on the ancient Mayas' own contemporary records. Hieroglyphic texts that mention women are widespread and continue to appear in the archaeological record as more excavation reveals new monuments. There is, therefore, a considerable corpus of information that can be analyzed to address the question of gender roles in Classic Maya society. It is apparent from the extant texts and related sources of information that women's roles in Classic Maya society were varied and essential. On the one hand, women figured prominently in the forging of alliances between elite families, securing military support for kings. On the other hand, some women ruled in their own right, perhaps because warfare had eliminated many potential male heirs to the throne.

In this analysis of women's roles in Classic Maya society, I have reviewed some specific monuments to give a more precise idea of the depth and breadth of the corpus and its portrayal of individual Classic Maya women. The careers of a few particularly well known women have illustrated women's roles in Classic political affairs. I have tried to show how the framework of patrilineal kinship shapes and defines many of the roles that women occupied in Classic society. Two kinds of roles emerge as central: women as mothers and wives and women as the links between elite families in the arena of rulership and its military support. In some cases, the importance of women is made explicit in the hieroglyphic texts and accompanying images. In other cases, women are not directly mentioned, but their presence is implicit in political alliances and in the production of royal heirs. That is, most of the time it is probably the same old story: the men stand out in front in the funny costumes; the women just tell their husbands and sons what to do from behind the scenes. But not all the time.

Notes

Acknowledgments. The central ideas in this chapter were first developed in a series of presentations I made during the early 1990s (Josserand 1992, 1993, 1994). Since then I have benefited from discussions and comments from many people, only a few of whom I can here acknowledge. Thanks go especially to those who commented on this manuscript: Traci Ardren, Sarah Nelson, Wendy Ashmore, Nick Hopkins, and Mary Pohl.

1. The names of Classic Maya personages are usually written in the original inscriptions with logographic signs, giving epigraphers considerable margin in their interpretation. Only occasionally do we find a name actually spelled out in syllable signs, allowing us to know how the name would have been pronounced. The name "Pacal" is one of the latter; it is often represented by a logographic shield, one word for which is *pakal*, or it may appear spelled with three syllable signs, *pa-ka-l(a)* (the last vowel suppressed by regular spelling rules). On the other hand, the manner of transcribing such words in the letters of our own alphabet also presents problems, as does the transcription of any foreign language that uses a different script. The convention used here transcribes logographic signs with all capitals and syllable signs with lowercase italics: logographic PAKAL, phonetic *pakal*. Different scholars have employed distinct conventions for transcribing the phonemes of Mayan languages, and there is no single standard. At present there is movement toward adopting a version of the orthographies for Guatemalan Mayan languages negotiated with the Guatemalan government by Mayan activists and educators. In this chapter I have chosen to use versions of the names that reflect scholarly use over the last twenty years rather than the less familiar innovations, and I supply the latter in footnotes as names occur in the text. Pacal's mother's name is written logographically with the signs "white" and "quetzal" and also occurs spelled out WHITE, *k'u-k'(u)*. Here I will use the traditional form of her name, "Lady Zac Kuk" (White Quetzal).

2. The name of the woman known as Lady Xoc is usually written with the head of an animal once thought to be a shark and therefore related to the Maya word *xok*. Current

interpretations would read this name as Uk, spelled *u-ki*. I have opted for the name most common in the literature (see note 1). Lady Xoc's husband's name is written logographically with a SHIELD and a JAGUAR, hence his conventional name "Shield Jaguar."

3. Like personal names, titles are difficult to interpret and problematic to transcribe. The title "Cahal" is usually spelled out *ka-ha-l(a)* (some scholars prefer to read this sequence *sa-ha-l(a)* [Houston 1993: 129]) and appears to be related to the Maya term *kah* (village) and to refer to a regional or local governor. If preceded by the head of the Moon (Goddess)—a convention for female names and titles—it is usually transcribed "Lady Cahal (or Sahal)." The titles "Chac-Te" (written CHAC-*te*, the head of the Rain God displaying his axe, plus the sign *te*) and "Ahau" (written in a variety of fashions, including the spelling *a-ha-wa*) refer to supreme or paramount rulers, a status higher than that of Cahal.

4. The relationship term used is read *yitah*, the possessed form of *itah*. Evidence (Wisdom 1940: 270) indicates that this term refers to siblings and other generation mates of the same descent group. Allowing for the generational skewing common in Omaha terminologies (whereby sister and father's sister are called by the same term), in this context, I take this term to mean "kinswoman."

5. The hieroglyph for "mother" is well documented (Mathews 1980: 61), but no phonetic reading has been proposed; the main sign of the glyph is a bat's head, and the sign takes the prefix designated T126, which may read *(i)x* or *ya* (the choice of which would obviously affect the possible interpretations). The name of the child of this mother, known only from this single context, is written with a bar-dot number, and I have nicknamed him "Ah Tzic," Lord Number (or, if you will, The Count).

6. This ritual is named after the staffs held by the protagonists which appear to be enclosed in cloth that has "flaps" cut out of it. The ritual has been associated with summer solstices (Tate 1985) because the dates of the events fall near solstice dates.

7. The warfare associations of this event, which Bassie-Sweet (1991: 200–19) refers to as the "First Lineage Event" of potential rulers, are derived from the combination of flint blade (an "eccentric flint," used in sacrificial contexts) and shield. Not only are these objects logically related to warfare, but this specific combination recalls the Nahuatl phrase *in mitl, in chimalli* ("the arrow, the shield"), a metaphoric expression meaning "warfare" (Sullivan 1976: 16). A parallel Classic Maya expression associated with warfare in monumental inscriptions is the combination FLINT-SHIELD, or *to-k'(a) pa-ka-l(a)*, or *tok' pakal*, which appears to relate to the symbol being passed by the women in these scenes.

8. The name of Lady Six Sky is written with the prefixed Moon Goddess head ("Lady"), the number "six" and a "sky" sign with the *Ah Po* superfix interpreted as *ahaw* (lord); reading these items in Maya gives the usual version of her name, Lady Wak-Chanil-Ahaw (Schele and Freidel 1990: 183).

9. This woman's name phrase often consists of two glyph blocks. The first has as its main sign a logographic sign that is the same as the main sign of the day name AKBAL (night). Some scholars read this sign as *man*. Therefore, she is variously referred to as "Lady Akbal," "Lady Night," or "Lady *Man*." The *ni* suffix provides the *Maní* reading (an attested Maya place-name). The second part of her name phrase has as its main sign the twenty-year time period *k'atun*, with the *Ah Po* superfix indicating *ahaw* or "lord." Thus, she is sometimes called "Lady Katun Ahau."

10. This term is spelled out *na-wa-l(a)*, or *nawab*, which should be the past passive form of a transitive verb *naw*. However, evidence of such a term is extremely sparse. The interpretation is based on the single citation of *nawab* in a colonial Cholti dictionary (Moran 1935: 5, 7), which glosses the Spanish word *afeite* as *naual*, translated as *adornar, hermosear alguna cosa*, and the Spanish word *afeitar, adornar*, as *nauab*, which Bricker (1986: 195, 198) and others have interpreted as related to adornment for ceremony, as for marriage.

11. Lady Day's name is written with the Moon Goddess prefix ("Lady") and the sign read *k'in* (sun, day), superimposed by the AHAU prefix. Consequently, she is known as "Lady Day" or "Lady Kin (Ahau)." Note that, iconographically, her name sign (*k'in* or "day") is in clear paradigmatic contrast with her mother's name sign (which includes the *ak'bal* or "night" sign).

12. Pacal's son's name is written logographically with an animal head that conflates reptilian belly plates with the head of a jaguar, that is, SNAKE-JAGUAR, a combination that can be read as the combination *chan* (snake) plus *balam* (jaguar). In an attempt to interpret these names as Cholan rather than Yucatecan, Schele, Mathews, and Lounsbury, in their first publication on the Palenque royal dynasty (1977), read "jaguar" in modern Chol, that is, as *bahlum*. I have preserved this now-traditional interpretation here.

13. The name of this late ruler of Palenque is written with an animal head combining the head of a quetzal bird *(k'uk')* with the ear of a jaguar *(balam)*, hence the interpretation "Balam K'uk'." In the same fashion as the earlier Palenque ruler (see note 12), the name is sometimes rendered "Bahlum Kuk" or "Bahlum K'uk'."

14. This name is based on a complex hieroglyph that has the elements of the Moon Goddess head (Lady), the day sign KAN, a suffix *al*, and a second main sign based on the day sign IK, with a superfix now read *nal*, giving "Kanal Ikal" or "K'anal Ik'al." P. Mathews (1993: 94) has suggested a new logographic reading, "Lady Olnal."

15. The name of Pacal's father combines the sign for "yellow, precious" *(k'an)* with a jaguar head *(balam)*, the latter having the beak of a macaw *(mo')*, giving "K'an Balam Mo'" or the earlier usage, "Kan Bahlum Mo'."

9

Women in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Chichén Itzá

RUTH J. KROCHOCK

The hieroglyphic inscriptions of Chichén Itzá have been studied by numerous scholars since the Carnegie Institution of Washington began intensive investigations there in the 1920s. The many recent advances in Maya epigraphy now allow us to read a large percentage of the Chichén Itzá texts. Previous scholarly studies have focused on understanding the structural linguistic patterns evident in the inscriptions (Beyer 1937; Boot 1996; Kelley 1982; Krochock 1988; etc.), identifying the personal names of historic individuals and deities (Boot n.d.d; Davoust 1980; Kelley 1968, 1982; Ringle 1990; D. Stuart 1987; Stuart et al. 1999; etc.), deciphering the dates in the texts (Graña-Behrens, Prager, and Wagner 1999; Kelley 1982, 1983; Krochock 1998; Thompson 1937; Wagner 1995; etc.), and elucidating the political histories of the male individuals whose names dominate the texts (Davoust 1980; Kelley 1982; Krochock 1998; Schele and Freidel 1990; Schele, Grube, and Boot 1995; Schele and Mathews 1998; Wren and Schmidt 1991; Wren, Schmidt, and Krochock 1989; etc.).

Recently, I began to view the inscriptions from the perspective of the women mentioned in the texts and came to realize that they are among the most politically significant individuals at the site. Although women are mentioned only a few times in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Chichén Itzá, I believe that they played a far more significant role than one might expect. In this chapter, I suggest a scenario that may explain how the women of Terminal Classic Chichén Itzá provided the male rulers with the political sanction or legitimacy they needed to rule the site.

The use of public hieroglyphic writing at Chichén Itzá covers a period of at least sixty years between 832 and 894 C.E. and as many as 166 years depending on the accepted reading of the date on the High Priest's Grave column (Krochock 1998; also see Kelley 1982, 1983; Schele and Freidel 1990; Schele and Mathews 1998; Thompson 1937; Wagner 1995). The most recent investigations of the High Priest's Grave date present a compelling argument to place the latest date at 998, the date that Thompson originally proposed in 1937 (Graña-Behrens, Prager, and Wagner 1999; Thompson 1937). Public writing at Chichén Itzá flourished at a time when the great governments of the southern lowlands were experiencing collapse and the tradition of displaying hieroglyphic texts on public monuments was in decline. As Schele and Freidel (1990) suggest, the tradition of public writing in the southern kingdoms no longer sustained the political process and, in fact, was too central to the institution of high kingship to survive the collapse.

In contrast, hieroglyphic inscriptions at Chichén Itzá remained important during the ninth century, especially in elite residences and palaces. They were used for the documentation of collective participation in rituals (such as house dedications, fire drilling, ball court–related activities, and bloodletting) and for the documentation of family or lineage affiliation. Elsewhere I have argued that unlike the inscriptions of earlier Classic Maya cities, writing at Chichén Itzá was not used to glorify and legitimize a single divine king (Krochock 1988, 1998; Krochock and Freidel 1994). Instead, the texts served to document the actions of the various leaders of a system of joint-rule government or *multepal* that would later emerge in its developed form at Mayapan (Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980: 539–40; Roys 1962). Recently, various scholars have begun to challenge the notion that a *multepal* system existed at Chichén Itzá (Boot n.d.b and personal communication, 2000; Cobos 2000, in press; Kepecs, personal communication, 2000; Stuart, personal communication, 2000). Therefore, I now agree that more research needs to be done before the *multepal* question is completely understood at Chichén Itzá.

Although the hieroglyphic texts at Chichén Itzá tend to de-emphasize the individual in favor of collective activities, the documentation of the lineage and descent of certain rulers still plays an important role. Documentation of descent in Classic period hieroglyphic inscriptions is accomplished by the use of relationship expressions in which both the mother and the father of a certain ruler are specifically named. In the inscriptions of Chichén, these relationship expressions differ from those in the southern Classic texts in that descent from women rather than men is emphasized. In other words, at Chichén Itzá, when a person's mother is clearly identified, the identification of his or her father is either not given or is implied in oblique ways. As we will see, this emphasis on female descent is one of the main pieces of evidence that helps us to understand the political dynamics of Terminal Classic Chichén Itzá.

While the Late Classic Maya kingdoms of the southern lowlands were in decline, Chichén Itzá established itself as a powerful center in northern Yucatán. Chichén Itzá's economic success can be attributed in part to its control of an extensive coastal trade network that extended west to Veracruz, east around the Yucatán Peninsula, and south to Belize and the Central American frontier. One economic focus of export for Chichén Itzá was probably salt, for some of the finest salt beds in Mesoamerica are located on the northern Yucatán coast (Andrews 1983, 1990; Kepecs, Feinman, and Boucher 1994; Krochock 1998). With the aid of its seaport at Isla Cerritos, Chichén Itzá apparently dominated the coastal trade network as it took advantage of the superb natural resource of salt as a commodity for trade (figure 9.1).

The name, Chichén Itzá, which is sometimes translated as "the mouth of the

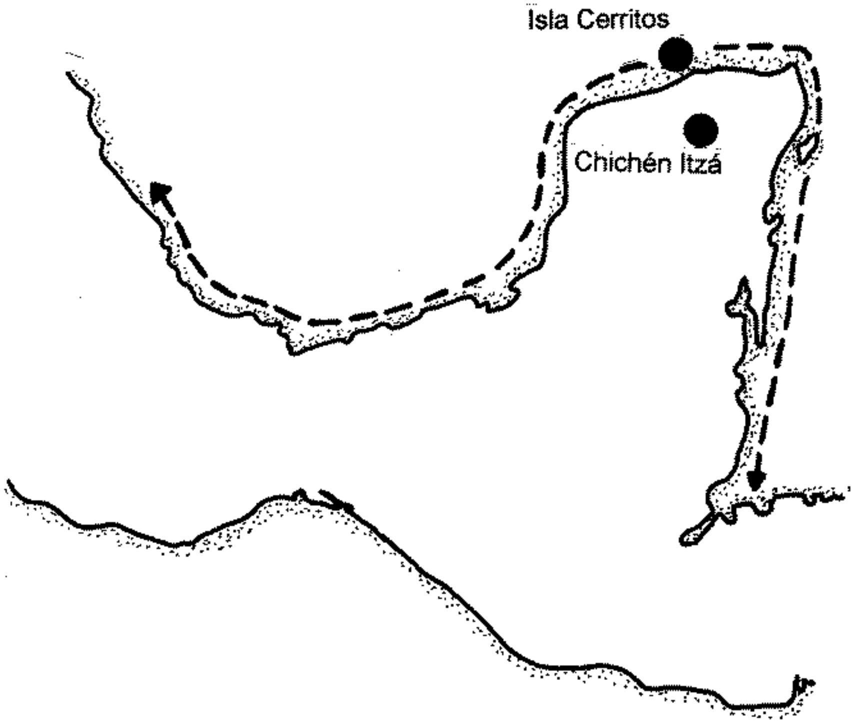


Figure 9.1. The Itzá coastal trade route around the Yucatán Peninsula.

well of the Itzá," probably originated with a group of Itzá Maya foreigners who settled at the site with designs to control the coastal trade network. In order to gain acceptance by and ultimately governance over the citizens of Chichén Itzá, the Itzá Maya foreigners would have had to marry into prestigious local lineages. I believe that this idea, first suggested by Nikolai Grube (1994: 326), is key to understanding the political dynamics at Chichén Itzá during the Terminal Classic. The newly arrived Itzá men would have married the most important and powerful women of Chichén Itzá in order to provide their children with the necessary pedigree for acceptance as future rulers.

The evidence for these alliances can be found in the hieroglyphic inscriptions themselves. In the Chichén Itzá texts, various parentage expressions clearly identify the mothers of important male individuals while making only vague reference to the possible identities of their fathers. Because Classic Maya rulership is traditionally inherited through the patriline, one would expect that paternal parentage would receive more attention than it does in the texts of Chichén Itzá.[1] In Classic period texts, political problems regarding descent or inheritance of political office can sometimes be inferred from odd patterns or the omission of expected information in the hieroglyphic texts. At Chichén Itzá, the unusual pattern seen in the parentage expressions indicates a similar political difficulty there, that is, descent from local women seems to become a more important criterion for securing the rights of rulership than descent from men of foreign origin.

We can find other examples in Classic Maya inscriptions in which certain powerful women from various sites apparently provided their male leaders with the necessary political sanction to rule (see Josserand, this volume). In one such case, Lady Wac-Kan-Ahaw of Dos Pilas (a.k.a. Lady Six-Sky or Lady Wac-Chanil-Ahaw) traveled to the distant site of Naranjo to create an alliance and bring prestige to Naranjo's faltering political structure. According to Schele and Freidel (1990: 183), after Caracol defeated Naranjo in war, Balah-Kan-K'awil (a.k.a. Flint-Sky-God-K) of Dos Pilas sent his daughter Lady Wac-Kan-Ahaw to Naranjo in order to reestablish a royal house (Freidel and Schele 1997). Lady Wac-Kan-Ahaw married a Naranjo noble lord and produced a son named K'ak'-Tiliw (a.k.a. Smoking Squirrel). At the very young age of five, K'ak'-Tiliw was named king of Naranjo (Schele and Freidel 1990: 186–87). Although the hieroglyphic texts of Naranjo do not specifically record the parentage of K'ak'-Tiliw, Tatiana Proskouriakoff (1961: 94; see also Schele and Freidel 1990: 187–88) noticed a pattern that identifies Lady Wac-Kan-Ahaw of Dos Pilas as his mother. Proskouriakoff found that every time K'ak'-Tiliw dedicated a monument to celebrate the anniversary of his accession, he also dedicated a paired monument to Lady Wac-Kan-Ahaw. The monuments always mention the date of Lady Wac-

Kan-Ahaw's arrival to Naranjo and depict her performing the same rituals as K'ak'-Tiliw. This pattern of erecting paired monuments suggests that Lady Wac-Kan-Ahaw was K'ak'-Tiliw's mother, his source of legitimacy, his link to rulership, and regent during his youth (Schele and Freidel 1990: 187–88).

Another example of a woman providing a male leader with the right to rule comes to us from the site of Palenque. Here the ruler Hanab-Pakal (a.k.a. Pakal the Great) inherited the throne from his mother, Lady Sak-K'uk' (a.k.a. Lady Zac-Kuk), in violation of the normal patrilineal pattern. As Schele and Freidel (1990: 221) note, Lady Sak-K'uk' and her mother, Lady Olnal (a.k.a. Lady Kanal-Ikal), were the only Classic Maya women who surely ruled as true queens; they were neither consorts of the king nor regents of the king, as was the case for Lady Wac-Kan-Ahaw of Naranjo. Both Lady Olnal and Lady Sak-K'uk' were the children of kings, so they had the legitimate right to rule as queens, even though their induction into office violated the usual patrilineal pattern of political succession. Hanab-Pakal was able to take the throne because his mother ruled as queen, but because the political succession did not follow the tradition patrilineal pattern, he and his son, Kan-Balam II (a.k.a. Chan-Bahlum), still had to take extra measures to ensure their acceptance. In the hieroglyphic inscriptions, they equate Lady Sak-K'uk' to the First Mother goddess who gave birth to the three gods, known as the Palenque Triad, at the beginning of creation. They declare that Hanab-Pakal's birth was just like the birth of the gods, thus giving him divine right to rule. Therefore, when Hanab-Pakal inherited the throne from his mother, he was replicating the actions of the gods at the beginning of creation (Schele and Freidel 1990: 223). At Chichén Itzá, we find five women discussed in the hieroglyphic texts who seem to have provided political sanction for certain males to rule the site.

The Women of Chichén Itzá

The women of Chichén Itzá (figure 9.2) discussed here include the following: First, Lady K'ayam (Lady Singer) was the mother of both the ruler named K'ak'upakal and his companion ruler named K'inil Kopol (a.k.a. K'in Kimi). Second is Lady Ton Ahaw, whose name glyphs include the sign of a penis in her name—perhaps she should be politely referred to as "Lady Progenitor Ahaw." She is recorded as being the mother of Lady K'ayam and therefore the grandmother of K'ak'upakal and K'inil Kopol. Third is a woman whose name glyphs also include a sign of a penis in her name as well the glyphs for "pyramid" and "stone": I call her Lady Ton Multun. She is recorded on the lintel of the Akab Dzib in a phrase that is somewhat difficult to read. Although the syntax is confusing, I interpret

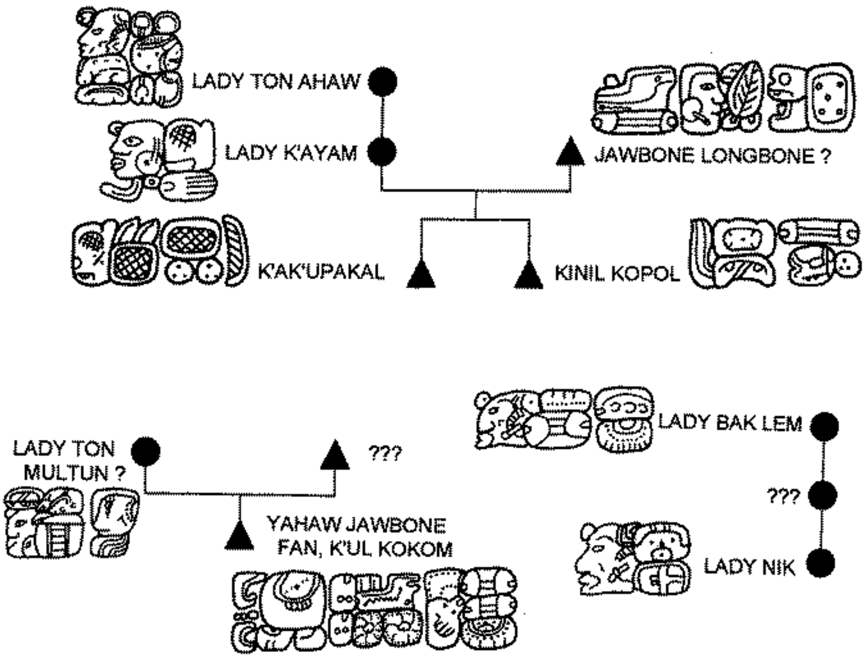

LADY TON AHAW
LADY K'AYAM
JAWBONE LONGBONE ?
K'AK'UPAKAL
KINIL KOPOL
LADY TON MULTUN ?
???
YAHAW JAWBONE FAN, K'UL KOKOM
LADY BAK LEM
???
LADY NIK

Figure 9.2. Grandmothers, mothers, daughters, and sons in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Chichén Itzá.

her as the mother of the ruler known in the literature as Yahaw Jawbone Fan. Yahaw Jawbone Fan also carries the distinction of being a royal member of the Kokom lineage, for he carries the K'ul Kokom title after his name phrase. The forth and fifth women I will discuss appear in a relationship expression that names one the grandmother of the other. The grandmother's name is still not clearly deciphered but might read as something like Lady Bak Lem. The granddaughter's name is Lady Nik or Lady Flower.

Lady K'ayam

The name of Lady K'ayam appears in relationship expressions (figure 9.3) four times at Chichén—on the Temple of the Three Lintels, on the Temple of the One Lintel, and twice on the Temple of Las Monjas. The date inscribed on the hieroglyphic lintels of the Temple of the Three Lintels includes only a reference to 10 *tun* of *K'atun* 1 *Ahaw* giving an approximate date between 10.2.9.0.0 and 10.2.10.0.0 or 878–79 C.E. in the Terminal Classic period. The text of Lintel 3,

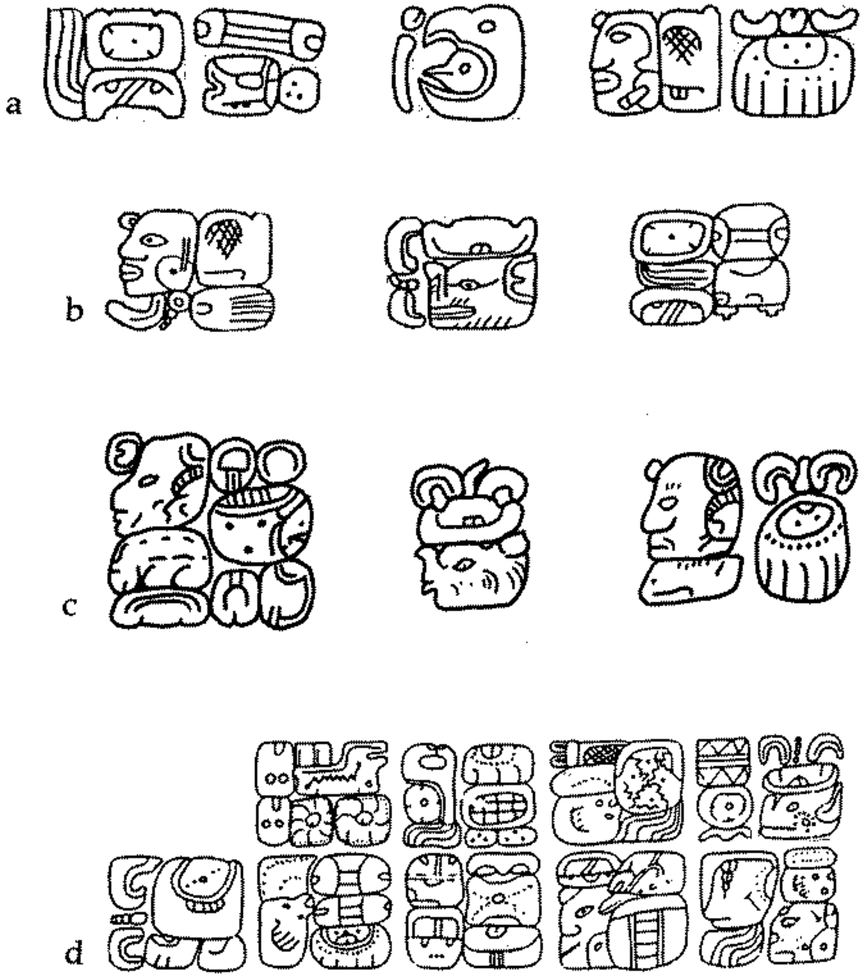


Figure 9.3. Relationship expressions in the hieroglyphic texts of Chichén Itzá: (a) "K'inil Kopol child of Lady K'ayam," Temple of the Three Lintels, Lintel 3, F1–H2; (b) "Lady K'ayam mother of K'inil Kopol," Temple of the One Lintel, H1–H2; (c) "Lady Ton Ahaw mother of Lady K'ayam," Temple of Las Monjas, Lintel 3a, C–D (drawing by Ruth Krochock after Ian Graham in Bolles 1977: 270); and (d) text with a difficult relationship expression: "Yahaw Jawbone Fan, k'inich ba pakal [sun-faced first shield] k'ul kokom [holy Kokom] ?? tu k'ul tok'in [of the holy flint-sun?] ?? mother of [or 'his mother is ??'] Lady Ton Multun, k'ul na [holy lady]," Akab Dzib Lintel, E1–H2.

where we find the relationship expression involving Lady K'ayam, can be loosely paraphrased as follows: "In the tenth *tun* of *K'atun* 1 *Ahaw,* his house was finished. Jawbone Longbone is the patron of the house of K'inil Kopol. K'inil Kopol is the son of Lady K'ayam." The lintel first makes reference to the date. This is followed by the statement that the carving of the inscription on the house is finished. Jawbone Longbone is named as *u kit* or "the patron of" K'inil Kopol. David Kelley (1982) suggests that this may indicate that the *u kit* expression may be an oblique indication that "Jawbone Longbone" is the father of K'inil Kopol even though it does not follow the Classic period formula usually found in relationship expressions. The following passage names K'inil Kopol as the child of Lady K'ayam.

On the lintel of the Temple of the One Lintel there is another relationship glyph that gives similar information. The first part of the inscription that contains the date for the monument is very eroded but seems to record the dedication of a house belonging to Jawbone Longbone. The rest of the text starting at E1 is more readable and deals primarily with the woman named Lady K'ayam. This portion of the text can be loosely paraphrased as follows: "Holy Ahaw, Lady K'ayam, Lady Tree Mountain Quetzal, precious Lady. Lady K'ayam is the mother of K'inil Kopol."

The parentage statements on the Temple of the One Lintel, F1–H2, and the Temple of the Three Lintels, Lintel 3, F2–H2, serve as confirmation for each other. Between the "child of mother" statement on the One Lintel text and the "mother of" statement on Three Lintels, Lintel 3, it is clear that Lady K'ayam was the mother of K'inil Kopol.

David Kelley (1982) first noted that on Lintel 3 (D1–Y4) of the Temple of Las Monjas this same woman, Lady K'ayam, is also named as the mother of K'ak'upakal. Kelley also suggests that the person known as Jawbone Longbone is named as the father of K'ak'upakal on Las Monjas, Lintel 4. Although no specific parentage glyph is used in this phrase, the juxtaposition of the two name phrases suggests such a relationship. In the way the *u kit* expression seems to suggest paternal parentage on the Temple of the Three Lintels, Lintel 3, the juxtaposition of Jawbone Longbone's name with K'ak'upakal's on Las Monjas, Lintel 3, is another example of the more indirect recognition of the ruler's father. These vague expressions stand in contrast with the clear statements that identify the ruler's mother. Most scholars working on the inscriptions of Chichén Itzá have generally accepted Kelly's (1982) identification of these oblique parentage statements.

Lady Ton Ahaw

On Las Monjas, Lintel 3A, C1–D1, Lady Ton Ahaw is named the mother of Lady K'ayam. Although she is only mentioned this one time, I believe that she is one of the most important women in the inscriptions of Chichén Itzá. We now know that Lady Ton Ahaw was the grandmother of both K'inil Kopol and K'ak'upakal. The presence of the penis sign in Lady Ton Ahaw's name phrase may seem unusual or provocative, but I believe that it identifies her as a founder or founding representative of a lineage with this name. According to the *Diccionario Maya Cordemex* (Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980: 806), one word for "penis" in Yucatec is *ton*. Although it may eventually be proven that another word is a preferable translation, for the present time I accept the use of *ton*. In the inscriptions of Chichén Itzá, it seems to be more important to document Lady Ton Ahaw as the grandmother and Lady K'ayam as the mother of K'ak'upakal and K'inil Kopol than it has been to identify their fathers. I believe that this evidence suggests that the female line gave K'ak'upakal and K'inil Kopol the proper political sanction to rule.

The Las Monjas building is a complicated architectural complex that may have served as a palace and elite residence. As such, it may have been the home of Lady Ton Ahaw and other individuals who are mentioned in the Las Monjas texts. The lower level of the building, known as the East Wing, is a long-range structure that once consisted of thirteen rooms that could easily have served a residential function. The East Wing was eventually covered by several platforms. The so-called Second Story has eight additional rooms. The seven hieroglyphic lintels of Las Monjas were located above the doorways on this story. Bolles (1977) identifies seven major episodes of remodeling in this building. The extensive remodeling suggests that Las Monjas was a very important building whose upkeep was a priority for those who used it regularly. Ceramic evidence suggests that the building had been occupied throughout the life of the city (Bolles 1977; Brainerd 1958; Smith 1971). I believe that Las Monjas may have served as a palace structure whose central stairway could have been used as a backdrop for public displays much like the palace at Palenque. Behind Las Monjas was a ball court that was probably in use at approximately the same time period when the hieroglyphic lintels were carved.

Further support for this interpretation comes from the fact that thirty-one spindle whorls were recovered in the excavations of Las Monjas (Bolles 1977: 237). Traci Ardren (personal communication, 1998) pointed out to me that this is the largest concentration of whorls found at any structure in Chichén Itzá. The presence of so many spindle whorls identifies Las Monjas as a place where spinning and weaving took place on a regular basis. Given the well-established role of spinning and weaving in the lives of elite Maya women, I believe that this may also identify Las Monjas as a primary residence for some of the more important women of the site.[2]

Lady Ton Multun

On the hieroglyphic lintel of the Akab Dzib, there is a woman named Lady Ton Multun or Lady "Progenitor" Stone Pyramid. Her name glyphs also contain a penis sign, which seems to suggest that she, like Lady Ton Ahaw, was one of the founding progenitors of Chichén Itzá. The Akab Dzib text provides us with the information that Lady Ton Multun was the mother of the ruler known as Yahaw Jawbone Fan or Great Jawbone Fan. The parentage statement on this lintel does not seem to conform to the usual pattern for parentage statements. The usual parentage statement formula in Maya inscriptions when this "mother of" expression is used consists of (1) the mother's name, (2) the "mother of" expression, and (3) the name of the child. In this case, the "mother of" expression seems to follow the personal name and titles of the male ruler Yahaw Jawbone Fan and precedes the name of the woman, thus violating the pattern. In this case, I believe that the "mother of" expression must be interpreted as meaning something like "his mother is." Perhaps the placement of the woman's name at the end of the text and the unusual organization of the parentage expression can be seen as a gender construction (Joyce 1996a). In other words, perhaps Yahaw Jawbone Fan would have preferred to not mention the significant role of Lady Multun Ahaw, the woman who gave him legitimacy to rule, because it might take away from his position of prominence. Because it was necessary to include her name, perhaps he arranged the structure of the phrase so that her name appears at the end of the text.

As noted above, Yahaw Jawbone Fan is also named as a royal member of the famous Kokom lineage of Yucatán. This may suggest that the Kokoms had a fundamental role in the establishment of Chichén Itzá. Could this inscription be documentation of how the Kokom lineage established itself at Chichén Itzá by marrying into the local royal lineage named with the penis sign? If this is the case, the descendant, Yahaw Jawbone Fan, proclaimed his legitimacy to rule at Chichén Itzá by stating that his mother was a representative of the penis or *ton* lineage of Chichén Itzá. Again, we have no clear mention of the father, presumably a Kokom from outside the ruling class at Chichén Itzá. However, based on a phrase at the very end of the Casa Colorada inscription, I tentatively suggest that the person named K'inich Hunpiktok was the father of Yahaw Jawbone Fan. Here, we see the name and titles of K'inich Hunpiktok and the name of Yahaw Jawbone Fan separated by the title K'ul Kokom. Following the pattern recognized by Kelley on Las Monjas, Lintel 3, I suggest that the two names positioned together suggest a father–son relationship and that the placement of the K'ul Kokom title between the names suggests that they shared this title. This may indicate that Hunpiktok, who is named in ethnohistoric documents (Lizana 1892) as the conqueror of Izamal, married Lady Ton Multun of Chichén Itzá and formed an alliance between the two cities. The prestige of Hunpiktok as a possible Kokom would have provided additional prestige to their child and heir, Yahaw Jawbone Fan. Remember that Yahaw Jawbone Fan carries the title K'ul Kokom on the Akab Dzib lintel at E2, and the *tok* title is also appended to his personal name on the Akab Dzib lintel at G1. This *tok* title may be further evidence to link Yahaw Jawbone Fan to K'inich Hunpiktok. The connection between Hunpiktok and Yahaw Jawbone Fan also serves to establish a connection between the Akab Dzib and the Casa Colorada. The two buildings are in relatively close proximity and may represent elite residences for two related family groups. Each building records dates that fall in the year 869 C.E. Hunpiktok is also mentioned on the Halakal Lintel (dating to 870 C.E.), which suggests a connection between this outlying site and downtown Chichén Itzá.[3]

The Akab Dzib, which may have been the home of Yahaw Jawbone Fan and Lady Ton Multun, is one of the most prominent elite residences at the site. The building is about forty meters wide, is seventy-seven meters long, and has eighteen rooms. It is oriented north and south and is situated on a low, broad platform, which is not connected by *sacbeob,* elevated white limestone roads, to any other architectural group. Because it is relatively isolated, Lincoln has suggested that the Akab Dzib functioned as a true palace or elite residence (1990: 606–07). The floor plan of the Akab Dzib resembles that of Las Monjas and the Temple of the Phalli, other buildings that may have also functioned as elite residences at Chichén Itzá (figure 9.4). The Temple of the Phalli does not have any inscriptions associated with it today. The Temple of the Initial Series, however, is located adjacent to the Temple of the Phalli. Because the placement of the Initial Series lintel is in secondary context, it is possible that it was once associated with the Temple of the Phalli. This cannot be proven, however, until we make the effort to measure the lintel against its proposed original location on the Temple of the Phalli doorway. The date on the Initial Series lintel, 10.2.9.1.9, corresponds to 878, falling close to the latest date recorded on the Akab Dzib (879) and the date 880, which is recorded on the lintels of Las Monjas. These dates suggest that the three buildings were dedicated and in use at the same time. In addition, the texts of the Temple of the Three Lintels that mention Lady K'ayam as the mother of Kinil Kopol are dated to 879 and provide likely evidence that the Three Lintels was also an elite residence associated with these other buildings.

Another connection exists among the Akab Dzib, Las Monjas, and the Temple of the Phalli. As we have seen, both Lady Ton Ahaw in the Las Monjas texts and Lady Ton Multun in the Akab Dzib inscription have penis signs in their

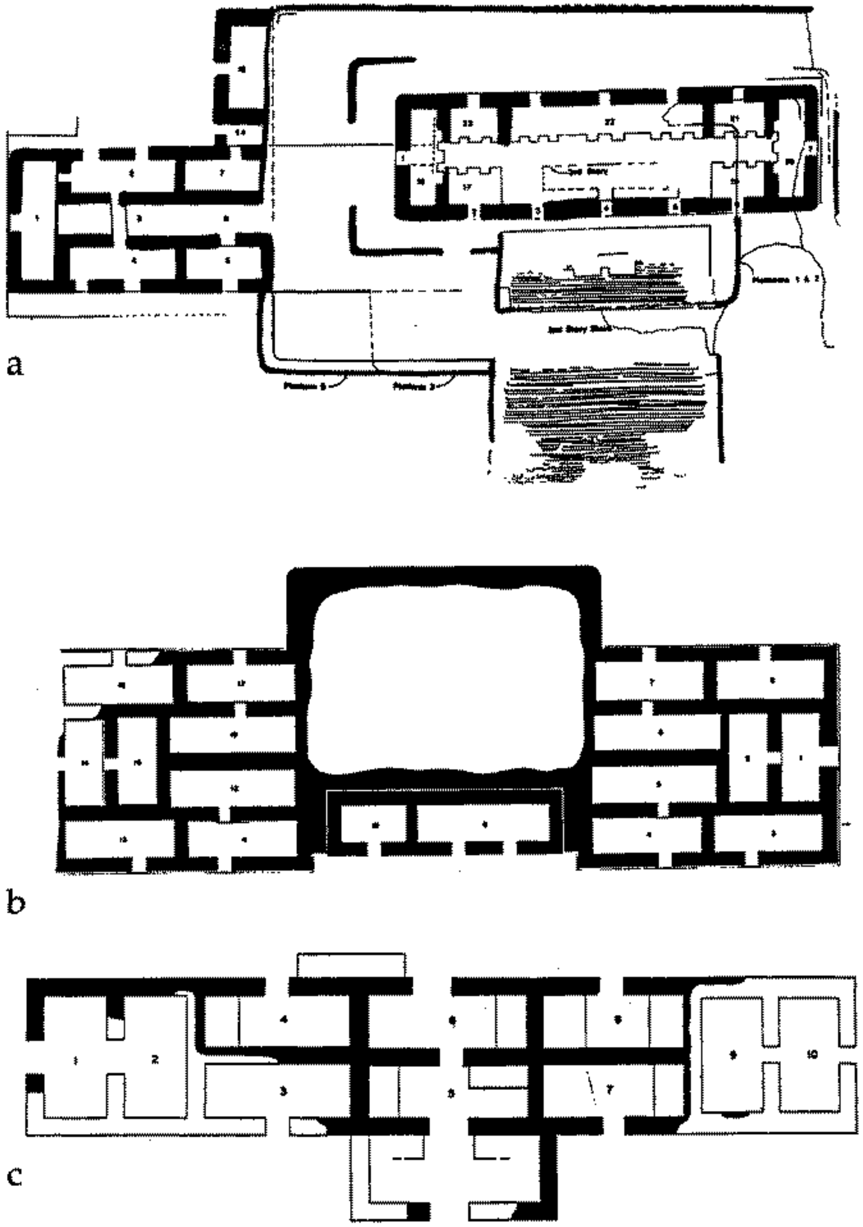


Figure 9.4. Plans of the Temple of Las Monjas, the Akab Dzib, and the Temple of the Phalli, Chichén Itzá: (a) Las Monjas (after Bolles 1977: 39); (b) the Akab Dzib (after Ruppert 1952: fig. 60); and (c) the Temple of the Phalli (after Ruppert 1952: 130).

name phrases. As the name implies, the Temple of the Phalli contains sculptures of phalli inside the building.[4] These penis sculptures are prominent, larger than life, and can be seen protruding from the walls of five of the interior rooms—a somewhat startling sight for the unsuspecting visitor (Ruppert 1952: 160). Obviously, the image of the "penis" or *ton* is a significant icon at Chichén Itzá. I believe that it is most likely the name of an important ruling lineage that is represented primarily by K'ak'upakal's and Kinil Kopol's grandmother, Lady Ton Ahaw, and her daughter Lady K'ayam, as well as by the mother of Yahaw Jawbone Fan, Lady Ton Multun.

Although no male rulers include the penis sign as a direct part of their personal names, many are associated with another title that includes a penis sign. This title phrase, *k'ul ah ton le wah* may have the approximate meaning of "he of the holy penis lineage" and may affiliate those who use the title with this important Chichén Itzá lineage (figure 9.5). The males at Chichén Itzá who are named with this title include K'ak'upakal, K'inil Kopol, Yax T'ul, Double Jawbone (who is mentioned on the Temple of the Four Lintels, Lintel 3, and is possibly directly related to Kinil Kopol), the maternal grandfather of K'ak'upakal (mentioned on Las Monjas, Lintel 7), and Hunpiktok, whose name appears on the Halakal Lintel and is juxtaposed with the name of Yahaw Jawbone Fan on the Casa Colorada Lintel. If Hunpiktok is the father of Yahaw Jawbone Fan, as suggested above, the *k'ul ah ton le wah* title phrase would refer to both individuals.

Why is this penis or *ton* lineage primarily represented by women instead of men at Chichén Itzá? I believe that the answer lies in the foreign origin of the ruling Itzá elite at the site. Recent work by various scholars, notably Linda Schele, Erik Boot, and Nikolai Grube (1995), suggests that at least one group of people calling themselves the Itzá first originated in the central Peten (or possibly the eastern Peten around Lake Peten Itzá) and then reestablished itself at Chichén Itzá in Terminal Classic times, perhaps as a refugee elite from the Peten wars. Other people known as the Itzá may have been Chontal-speaking Maya who occupied the area at the base of the southwestern end of the Yucatán Peninsula in eastern Tabasco and southwestern Campeche. This group has also been called the Putun or Chontal Maya (Ball and Taschek 1989: 188; Kowalski 1989: 173; Thompson 1970; Tozzer 1941: 20–22). Although the precise identity and origin of the Itzá have not been determined to date, current evidence suggests that these "foreign" Maya settled at Chichén Itzá because the strategic location near the great salt beds on the northern Yucatán coast offered the opportunity for economic expansion (Andrews 1990: 264; Kepecs, Feinman, and Boucher 1994: 146; Robles C. and Andrews 1986: 87–88). As noted earlier, these salt beds provided Chichén Itzá with the economic resources it needed to take control of

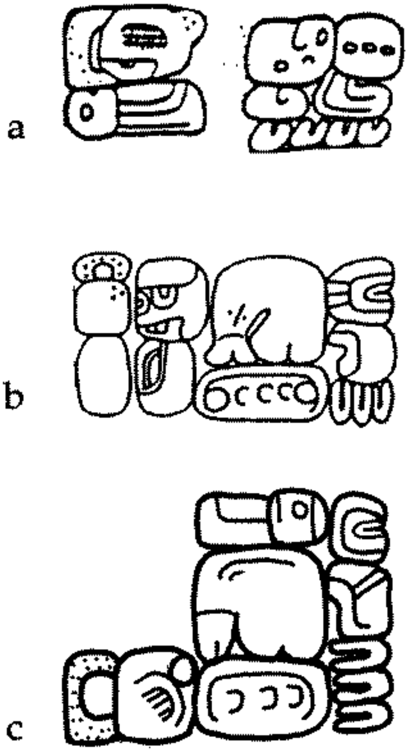


Figure 9.5. Examples of *k'ul ah ton le wah*, "he of the penis lineage," titles at Chichén Itzá: (a) the Temple of the Four Lintels, Lintel 1, D2–C3; and (b) and (c) the Casa Colorada Frieze.

an extensive coastal trade network that linked it to far-flung regions of Mesoamerica.

Contact period chronicles such as the *Books of the Chilam Balam* describe a group of people known as the Itzá as foreign intruders to Yucatán and the founders of Chichén Itzá. The following is a passage from the *Chilam Balam*: "4 Ahaw was the katun when the four divisions were called. The four divisions of the nation, they were called, when they descended. They became lords when they descended upon Chichén Itzá. The Itzá were they then called" (Roys 1967: 140). But the Itzá are not referred to in positive terms. Another entry reads: "They are the unrestrained lewd ones of the day, the unrestrained lewd ones of the night, the rogues of the world. They twist their necks, they wink their eyes, they slaver at the mouth, at the rulers of the land, lord. Behold, when they come, there is no truth in the words of the foreigners to the land" (Roys 1967: 169).

At least two more passages from the *Chilam Balam* imply that the Itzá were not native speakers of the language spoken at Chichén Itzá. Here the Itzá are called *u nunil Ah Itzá*. Roys cites the dictionary definition of *nun* or *ah nun* from the *Diccionario de Motul* as "a stupid foreigner who does not know the language of the country, or a stammerer or a stutterer; also a stupid person whom it is of no use to teach" (1929: 695, cited in Roys 1967).

On Las Monjas, Lintel 2A, B1–C1, we find that K'ak'upakal is identified with the title *u nunail*, which implies that K'ak'upakal was of foreign origin and was not a native speaker of the language spoken at Chichén Itzá (figure 9.6). A person named K'ak'upakal is often referred to in the *Chilam Balam* as "the valorous captain of the Itzás." The K'ak'upakal from the inscriptions of Chichén Itzá may well be the same person referred to in the *Chilam Balam*. Did the Itzá who settled at Chichén Itzá during the Terminal Classic inspire negative reactions similar to those we read about in the later historic document of the *Chilam Balam*? If so, an Itzá man attempting to enter the elite community of Chichén Itzá would have had a difficult time, indeed. Perhaps marrying important and powerful local women was the only way to be accepted.

Another interesting clue concerning the question of the presence of the Itzá at Chichén Itzá was first recognized by Erik Boot (n.d.c) in 1993. The information appears in the texts of Las Monjas, Lintels 1A and 2. These passages make reference first to *sabak tok' pakal* or "*sabak* flint shield" on Las Monjas, Lintel 1A, A1–A2, and *ba sabak ahaw ol si k'u* or "first *sabak* lord portal born god" on Las Monjas, Lintel 2, Z1–Z2. In the *Chilam Balam*, Sabaknail is identified as the ancestral homeland of the wandering Itzá (cf. Boot n.d.c) (figure 9.7).

We also find in the *Chilam Balam* that a person named Holtun Balam is referred to in the context of detailing the travels of the Itzá. Linda Schele and Nikolai Grube first noted the presence of Holtun Balam's name in the Caracol Disk inscription from Chichén Itzá (Schele, personal communication, 1997).

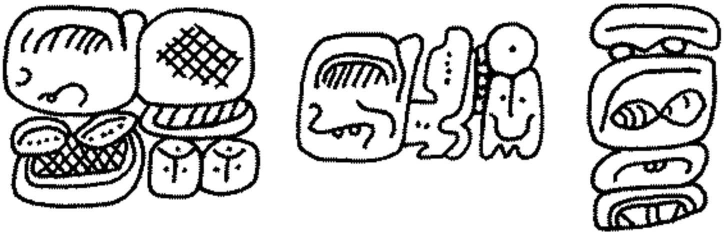


Figure 9.6. "K'ak'upakal k'awil u nunail" (K'ak'upakal identified as a foreigner), the Temple of Las Monjas, Lintel 2a, B–C (drawing by Ruth Krochock after Ian Graham in Bolles 1977: 269).

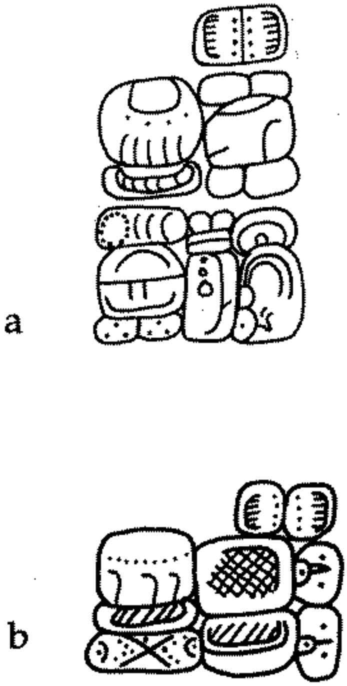


Figure 9.7. *Sabak* titles at Chichén Itzá: (a) "Sabak Ahaw ol si k'u" [Sabak Ahaw heaven-born god," the Temple of Las Monjas, Lintel 2, F1–F3 (drawing by Ruth Krochock after Ian Graham in Bolles 1977: 269); (b) "Sabak Tok' Pakal" [Sabak Flint Shield], the Temple of Las Monjas, Lintel 1a, A1–A2 (drawing by Ruth Krochock after Ian Graham in Bolles 1977: 268).

The name phrase reads: "Itzá Ahaw, Ah Holtun Balam, Peten Ahaw." I believe that the mention of this person at Chichén Itzá may correspond to the Holtun Balam mentioned in the *Books of the Chilam Balam*. The fact that he is also identified as an Itzá Ahaw and a Peten Ahaw adds the tantalizing possibility that he was one of the Itzá founders of Chichén Itzá who originally came from the Lake Peten Itzá region (figure 9.8).

The fourth and fifth women who appear in the inscriptions of Chichén Itzá are mentioned on Las Monjas, Lintel 7A. At B1, a woman whose name may read something like Lady Bak Lem is identified as *u mim* (Grube and Nahm 1990: 18) or "the maternal grandmother of" another woman named Lady Nik or Lady Flower. We do not know the exact relationship of these women to K'ak'upakal or any of the other male rulers, but presumably they are mentioned in this context because they are important ancestors who helped legitimize the rulership of Chichén Itzá.

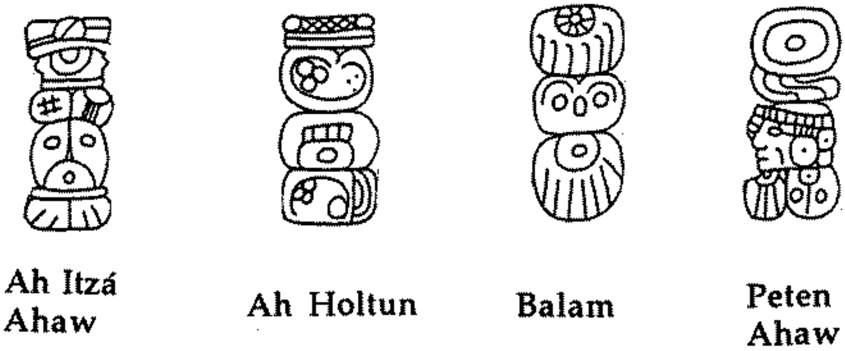


Figure 9.8. Holtun Balam's name on the Caracol Disk inscription, Chichén Itzá: "He [is] Itzá Ahaw, he [is] Holtun Balam, Peten Ahaw."

Certainly not a coincidence, on the same lintel at C4, K'ak'upakal's grandfather is named as *u mam* (Boot n.d.a). He is also one of the males who uses the *k'ul ah ton le wah* title phrase. The *Diccionario Maya Cordemex* (Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980: 491) specifically defines *mam* as the maternal grandfather. This is significant because again a reference is being made to the maternal side of K'ak'upakal's heritage. The grandfather in question would presumably have been the husband of Lady Ton Ahaw, one of our representatives of the penis lineage. Because they appear on the same lintel, Lady Bak Lem and Lady Nik may be closely related to K'ak'upakal's maternal grandfather.

Conclusions

The parentage statements reviewed in this chapter are the only ones recorded at Chichén Itzá—and, as we have seen, many of them appear in the Las Monjas texts. Here we find the important parentage statements that clearly identify the mother and grandmother of K'ak'upakal and K'inil Kopol but only imply the lineage on the father's side of the family. On the Las Monjas lintels, we learn the identification of K'ak'upakal's mother, grandmother, maternal grandfather, and two other women who may be related to the maternal grandfather. We also find one case in which an individual is referred to as Sabak Ahaw and another in which reference is made to Sabak Tok Pakal, implying a connection to the Itzá homeland as mentioned in the *Books of the Chilam Balam* (Boot n.d.c). Other scholars have suggested that the Las Monjas functioned as a sort of founder's house, and evidence from the inscriptions is consistent with this interpretation (Boot n.d.c). The Las Monjas texts serve as primary documentation of how the Chichén Itzá elite felt they needed to depict their heritage. These texts document how the "penis" or *ton* lineage merged with a foreign-born Itzá heritage and provided legitimacy for Itzá rule at Chichén Itzá.

The local Chichén Itzá penis or *ton* lineage seems to be represented by three key women: Lady K'ayam, Lady Ton Ahaw, and Lady Ton Multun. They are mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Temple of Las Monjas, the Akab Dzib, the Temple of the Three Lintels, and the Temple of the One Lintel. Throughout the other inscriptions at the site, male rulers use the title phrase *k'ul ah ton le wah* to affiliate themselves with these powerful females. The frequency of distribution of the penis icon in names and titles mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscriptions, the penis sculptures in the Temple of the Phalli, and the representation of a perforated penis on the bas relief of the North Temple (Wren 1989: 300) all suggest that this symbol has an important meaning at Chichén Itzá. I suggest that the penis icon functions as a symbol or name for an important founding lineage at Chichén Itzá. The fact that the penis sign only occurs in the personal names of women in the inscriptions implies that these women were representatives of the lineage and that, through marriage and motherhood, they provided political sanction for various males to rule at Chichén Itzá. Ultimately, the emphasis on female descent at Chichén Itzá seems to indicate, as Grube (1994) first suggested, that the male Itzá rulers of Chichén Itzá came to the city from outside its immediate political sphere and married into prestigious local families. In this way, the prominent local women became the indicators of legitimate power and heritage and, while not emphasized in the hieroglyphic texts, actually proved to be the anchors of the community.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I would like to thank Traci Ardren, Erik Boot, Victoria Bricker, David Freidel, David Johnstone, Susan Kepecs, Jeff Kowalski, Andrea Stone, and Gabrielle Vail for responding to my call for comments to improve this chapter. This work has been much improved by their observations. I would also like to thank *all* the participants in the Chichén Itzá Long Workshop established at the Maya Meetings at Texas for their years of work on the inscriptions of Chichén Itzá. Many of the ideas expressed in this chapter were surely first conjured during these meetings.

1. Victoria Bricker (personal communication, 2000) has recently pointed out to me that there was a system of double descent present in northern Yucatán during the sixteenth century. She explained that in this system, males have two last names, one inherited from the father and the other inherited from the mother, which she in turn inherited from her mother. Bricker explained that this differs from the Spanish system of descent, whereby a male also inherits names from both parents but the matronym is the patronym of the mother's father. The

ancient pattern of emphasis on the female line in the Terminal Classic inscriptions of Chichén Itzá may be an indication that a system of double descent, similar to that in place during the sixteenth century, was also in place at the time the inscriptions were carved.

2. David Johnstone (personal communication, 2000) reminded me to be careful with the various ceramic tally numbers at Chichén Itzá, for the method of collection has not been consistent throughout the entire site; there may have been more spindle whorls elsewhere at the site that have not been recorded. He also noted that the painted murals present on the walls of Las Monjas tend to depict battle scenes and that while Las Monjas may have been a primary residence for some of the more important women of Chichén Itzá, the function of the building may have changed through time.

3. This interpretation is complicated by some new evidence from the site of Ek Balam. According to Erik Boot (personal communication, 2000), David Stuart (personal communication, 2000), and Peter Keeler (personal communication, 2000), it now appears that the name of Hunpiktok on the Halakal Lintel is followed by a sign that has been identified as the Ek Balam emblem glyph. This being so, it would then seem that Hunpiktok is from the site of Ek Balam. Until we better understand the apparently significant role of Ek Balam, we really cannot make judgments on the relationships among the various cities of northern Yucatán. Boot (personal communication, 2000) disagrees that Hunpiktok is Yahaw Jawbone Fan's father and suggested that Hunpiktok and Yahaw Jawbone Fan are one and the same person. If this is true, we have much work to do to understand the dynamics among the sites of Izamal, Chichén Itzá, and Ek Balam.

4. It is possible that the lintel that is now placed in the Temple of the Initial Series in secondary context was once above a doorway in the Temple of the Phalli.

10

Women-Men (and Men-Women): Classic Maya Rulers and the Third Gender

MATTHEW G. LOOPER

IS THE FIGURE MALE or female? Studies of gender in ancient Maya art and culture frequently address this question of sexual identity. Costume, which is gender distinctive among the modern Maya, has been a focus of attention and is usually assumed to be either masculine or feminine in archaeological contexts. Masculine attire is generally represented as a hip cloth or loincloth, sometimes coupled with a short skirt. Feminine costume is typically a skirt worn to below the knee, sometimes accompanied by a long tunic-like *huipil* (Bruhns 1988; Joyce 1992a; Proskouriakoff 1961). Sometimes the relationship between gender-marked costume and sexual identity is problematic. In an early account of Copán Stela H (figure 10.1), for example, Alfred P. Maudslay identified the skirted figure as a woman (1889–1902, 5: 50). As the historical content of the inscriptions was recovered, scholars realized that the monument represents the (male) ruler of Copán, Waxaklajun Ub'ah K'awil (18 Rabbit).

But why is he shown wearing the long skirt typical of women? One interpretation is that male rulers donned such "female" costumes for bloodletting ceremonies (Schele 1979). As argued by Andrea Stone (1988, 1991), such gender crossing is suggested in other aspects of Maya ceremonies. In particular, bloodletting from the penis

> conceptually transformed the male genitalia into a doubly potent agent of fertility, capable of shedding two life-giving fluids: semen and blood. The shedding of blood from the male sexual organ also mimics the

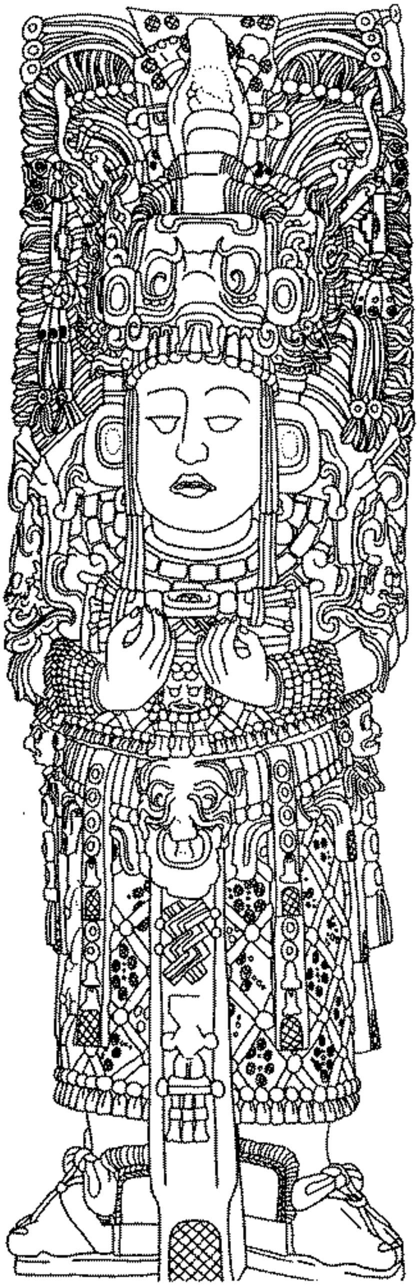


Figure 10.1. Copán Stela H (drawing by Matthew G. Looper).

> female menstrual cycle. Through this and other ideological constructs, Maya kings appropriated female fertility symbols to strengthen the power of their political office, leaving the female, at least at the level of official consciousness, as a decidedly secondary benefactor of fertility. (Stone 1988: 75–76)

In this view, men and women dispute two gender-identified domains of power. But is this politic really so polarized? Indeed, as Butler (1990: 7) asks, Is sex merely a "natural" essential fact, or is it rather a product of gender? (see also Joyce 1998). It is important to note that scholars have typically relied on hieroglyphic inscriptions to "sex" Maya human representations (Bruhns 1988; Marcus 1976: 157–79, 1987; Miller 1974; Proskouriakoff 1961; Schele 1979). But hieroglyphic texts constitute only one of the many modes of gender designation in Maya art that are as easily manipulated as iconography (Hewitt 1999). If we judge only images, individuals were represented as remarkably androgynous, or "sexless," to use Joyce's (1996a: 169) term. Especially in the case of portrait heads, sexual distinctions are not explicit. Rulers identified as male by hieroglyphic captions are typically shown with no facial hair, and hairstyles of men and women are often similar. Bodily forms are conventionalized, with "female" figures usually shown with no suggestion of breasts.

Noting the de-emphasis on bodily sexual characteristics in Classic Maya monumental art, Rosemary Joyce (1992a, 1994, 1996a) has suggested that in such images, costume elements are of primary importance in communicating gender identity. Further, as Joyce argues, "male and female costumes could be combined in ways that blurred the boundary between the dichotomous gender poles they represented, creating a costume reflecting other genders encompassing maleness and femaleness" (1996a: 182). This interpretation suggests that many images of Maya rulers negotiate a fluid mixed-gender realm, which afforded multiple alternatives to polarized "male" or "female" identities. According to Joyce, one of the principal costumes associated with mixed-gender identity is the beaded net costume shown on Copán Stela H (figure 10.1). It has been suggested that the costume identifies the ruler with mixed-gender ancestral deities embodied in the moon and maize. As such, they are analogous to the *totilme'il* (fathers, mothers) of the modern Tzotzil—collective ancestors as well as ritual specialists who embody concepts of both maternal origin and paternal authority (Devereaux 1987: 92; Holland 1963: 113).

Taking this concept of gender fluidity as a foundation, this chapter further explores the significance of the net costume and the role of the deities with which it is associated in Classic Maya cosmology and rulership. The net costume is worn by two distinct but complementary deities, the Maize God and the Moon Goddess (Schele and Mathews 1998: 348). However, rather than simply a "male/female" pair or "gender totalizing," I suggest that these beings were simultaneously androgynous *and* gender polarized. Moreover, it is argued that the paired Maize God and Moon Goddess identities embodied a distinctive "third gender" status. Like other mixed statuses, it was characterized by the presence of both feminine and masculine traits, in character and appearance. This "third gender" status was important because ancient Maya elites could personify these two deities. As such, the charter for the deity pair was a specific mixed-gender persona performed by rulers. Finally, because it is embodied in specific, circumscribed ritual complexes, Maize God/Moon Goddess transformation can be separated from other forms of androgyny or gender change and defined as a distinct gender status.

Anthropological literature frequently refers to third-gender Native Americans by the term *berdache* (Callender and Kochems 1983). Because the word originally applied to boys who were men's lovers in Arab culture, it is not appropriate in the ancient Maya context. Not only is age irrelevant to this discussion, but we shall see that both male and female rulers had androgynous personae. In addition, the enhanced spiritual capacities of androgynous persons in many cultures suggest the alternative term of reference: *two-spirit* (Jacobs and Thomas 1994). This term is based on indigenous concepts and avoids the sexual and cultural biases of the term *berdache*. Useful terms of reference, also based on native concepts, are *woman-man* for a "male *berdache*," and *man-woman* for the female counterpart (Bowers 1965: 167; Lang 1998).

Walter Williams (1986) has compiled extensive support for the widespread existence of two-spirit people in Native America, especially "morphological males" who convey and embody an androgynous character. Williams argues:

> Such a person has a clearly recognized and accepted social status, often based on a secure place in the tribal mythology. Berdaches have special ceremonial roles in many Native American religions, and important economic roles in their families. They will do at least some women's work, and mix together much of the behavior, dress, and social roles of women and men. Berdaches gain social prestige by their spiritual, intellectual, or craftwork/artistic contributions, and by their reputation for hard work and generosity. They serve a mediating function between women and men, precisely because their character is seen as distinct from either sex. They are not seen as men, yet they are not seen

> as women either. They occupy an alternative gender role that is a mixture of diverse elements. (1986: 2)

Two-spirits, therefore, constitute a supernaturally validated and culturally recognized gender status, based on mixed gender roles and attributes. Far from being "failed men" or "legitimated homosexuals," as they have sometimes been considered, two-spirits are usually identified when very young (Callender and Kochems 1983; Jacobs 1983). Sexual behavior of two-spirits, which has so fascinated Western ethnographers, seems to be of secondary importance, deriving from the primary identity (Lang 1998). Indeed, because two-spirits make up a mixed status distinct from masculine or feminine, they may couple with either men or women.

Another interpretation of gender role change holds that it is an institution through which men can usurp the prestige areas of women (Whitehead 1981). Again, however, the usual early identification of two-spirits makes this interpretation unlikely. As Lang has concluded, "It was not primarily the desire for feminine prestige as a substitute for masculine prestige that made prospective women-men conspicuous as children, but rather the desire to exchange the masculine gender role for the feminine one, expressed by an interest in feminine everyday activities" (1998: 345). Likewise, in the Arctic and Subarctic, identity as a man-woman was decided in childhood, usually when girls were raised as boys in order to help with hunting. In other cases, as with women-men, dreams or visions legitimated the status of men-women (Lang 1998: 346).

Although the majority of North American women-men are not important spiritual figures (Benedict 1934: 263; Lang 1998: 346), the supernatural sanction for their identity does validate and empower them in their societies, sometimes leading them to assume important ceremonial roles. For example, the Lakota *winkte* is revered as a holy person and is responsible for blessing the tree erected for the Sun Dance ceremony, the most important Plains religious rite (Williams 1986: 32, 36–37). Matilda Coxe Stevenson, working at Zuñi Pueblo in the 1880s and 1890s, noted that the Zuñi two-spirit We'wha "was the chief personage on many [ceremonial] occasions" (1901–02: 37–38). Navajo two-spirits have also excelled in ceremonial performance and, as shamans, were particularly powerful (Hill 1935). Special powers are also ascribed to two-spirit shamans among the Lakota, Cheyenne, and Mohave and (formerly) among the Klamath, Yurok, and many California Indian groups (Williams 1986: 35–36). Native American religions often institutionalize the powers of the two-spirit in mythology. Among several nations of the American Southwest, such as the Kamia, Zuñi, and Navajo, creator deities, spirits, or mythological beings are androgynous. In Navajo mythology, primordial two-spirits, or "changing ones" (*nádleehí* in

Navajo), invent pottery, baskets, and tools, as well as domestic technology for the benefit of humanity. The "twins" even save humanity from a destructive flood (Williams 1986: 19–20). In many cultures, the two-spirit often receives his/her powers from one of these androgynous spirit beings (Lang 1998: 331–39).

Although most of the research on the third gender has focused on North American and Siberian manifestations, Williams (1986) suggests its presence in the Maya area as well. The Dominican bishop of Chiapas, Bartolomé de las Casas (1967), for example, documented institutionalized relationships among boys and young men in sixteenth-century Verapaz (Guatemala). Interestingly, a deity named Cu, Chin, Cavil, or Maran instructed men in this sexual behavior: "De allí vino que daban algunos padres a los que eran mozos un niño para que lo tuviesen por mujer, y si algún otro llegaba al niño se lo mandaban pagar como hacen cerca de las mujeres el que violaba mujer ajena" (Casas 1967, 2: 522).[1] Williams (1986: 142–47) published a brief account of Yucatec Maya *homosexuales,* males who are androgynous in behavior, take a passive sexual role with men, and may occasionally wear women's clothing or mixed-gender costumes. These persons are members of a culturally recognized third gender, as one of Williams's *homosexual* informants put it, "like a third group, different from men or women" (1986: 146). The Yucatec Maya terms for male and female two-spirits reflect this mixed gender identity and are reminiscent of North American concepts: *x-ch'upul-xìib'* (female-male) and *xíib'il-x-ch'ùup* (male-female) (Bricker, Po'ot Yah, and Dzul de Po'ot 1998: 88).[2]

I suggest that there is strong evidence for the existence of this category among the ancient Maya. In the Classic period (250–800 C.E.), Maya rulers were considered divine, embodying spiritual energy and often transforming into gods (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 265; Houston and Stuart 1996; Schele and Miller 1986: 40). As Houston and Stuart explain, "Maya impersonations were not simply mummery and costumed drama. Rather, rulers and certain non-regnal figures shared in some manner the divinity of those gods. The costuming offered not so much a theatrical illusion as a tangible, physical representation of a deity" (1996: 299). The supernatural identity was conveyed through the wearing of costume that contained spiritual essences, the siting of performances in cosmological architectural settings, and probably a psychological transformation through trance states (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 257–92; Looper 1991). An analysis of ancient Maya art indicates that a Maya ruler, like shamanistic counterparts elsewhere in the Americas, could claim an identity as a third-gender being or two-spirit. Like other Native American cultures, the Maya based this identity on the power of spiritual connection with two-spirit deities.

Dealing with the complex issue of gender in an archaeological culture presents certain methodological difficulties. We have very little information about behavior or daily life. Certainly, we have no ancient sources that might allow us to map a third-gender status within a biography. Further, Classic Maya monumental art is highly formalized and treats ceremonial concerns. Rosemary Joyce (1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1994, n.d.a) has offered a useful model for interpreting the relationship between monumental representations and gender, suggesting that the repeated and stereotyped actions and body forms shown in such media constitute social constructs of normative gender performance. In Joyce's view, "The inscription of bodily appearance, in both small- and large-scale permanent media, was a mirror for everyday practices, a mirror against which individual performances could be evaluated as better or worse citations of what was represented as the norm" (n.d.a: 7).

This study views art from a discourse- or performance-centered perspective, in which culture (and gender/sex) is viewed as a web of politically engaged and continually evolving texts (Bakhtin 1986; Barthes 1977a, 1977b, 1977c; Bauman 1986; Bauman and Briggs 1990; Butler 1990; Schiefflin 1985; Sherzer 1987; Urban 1991). As texts, visual art forms are seen as a communicative medium having a discrete form and semiotically encoded content (Joyce 1993). Metaphors or aesthetic tropes serve as the formal structuring agents in these communicative acts, shaping social dynamics (Geertz 1976; Schapiro 1953). A benefit of this semiotic approach to art is its recognition that aesthetic tropes crosscut media and genres. That is, a metaphor may be expressed in a verbal utterance, a written text, a compositional structure, or a spatial arrangement. In this regard, Classic Maya art is highly sophisticated, comparable to medieval church programs or Buddhist architecture.[3] Texts and iconography often embellish architecture, and iconographic elements interplay with hieroglyphic writing (Clancy 1986; Miller 1989). This view of Maya art allows for the recovery of key narratives that served as fulcrums of the power of Maya rulers, including the politics of gender.

Maize and Moon Deities and the Third Gender

The Maize God is one of the most important supernatural figures in Maya art and cosmology. Taube (1985) and Freidel, Schele, and Parker (1993: 59–122) have reviewed at length his complex manifestations and roles. As the personification of the principal foodstuff of the Maya, this deity's birth, sacrifice, death, burial, and resurrection constitute principal metaphors in Maya culture. At the same time that this deity represents a masculine "First Father," or progenitor of the cosmos, he is clearly androgynous. Several features of the deity express this ambiguity. First is the peculiar "IL" face marking that the deity often bears on the cheek (figure 10.2a). The same marking that appears on the generic female head is a grapheme in Maya writing that reads *ix(ik)*, "woman" (figure 10.2b). More prominent, however, is the net skirt (sometimes accompanied by a cape) and Xok monster belt that the Maize God often wears (figure 10.3; see Miller 1974; Taube 1985: 174). Quenon and LeFort (1997) offer a convincing interpretation of the skirt, suggesting that its cross-linked pattern symbolizes the turtle carapace (the earth) out of which the Maize God is reborn. As a metaphor for the earth, the skirt has a strong feminine gender association.[4] In addition, the net skirt is a garment that basically covers or encloses the body. For the Maya, this is generally a feminine body treatment, while male bodies are exposed (Joyce 1992a). Importantly, when the Maize God is represented as a deity, the skirt does not descend to a feminine length, below the knees. Instead, the body is generally exposed, in a masculine manner (figure 10.3). Likewise, when male kings performed as the Maize God, as on the main tablet of the Temple of the Foliated Cross, the Palenque Sarcophagus lid, or Yaxchilán Structure 33, Step VII, the skirt is often short, thereby emphasizing the figures' masculinity.[5] The long, strikingly feminine skirt worn by the ruler on Copán Stela H (figure 10.1) is seen on several other monuments, including El Zapote Stela 5 and Xultún Stelae 23 and 24 (Eggebrecht et al. 1993: 351; von Euw and Graham 1984: 80, 84). Nevertheless, an equally emphatic (masculine) loincloth balances the femininity of such long skirts, ensuring an androgynous identity for the ruler.

The Maize God's distinctive belt also has mythological and gender resonances.[6] The Xok monster refers to the rebirth of the deity in the watery underworld, prior to his resurrection (Quenon and LeFort 1997). It should be noted that the Maize God is sometimes shown with the same Xok monster worn as a headdress (figure 10.2c). In this configuration, the deity's face is understood to be emerging from the mouth of the creature, a typical Mesoamerican visual meta-

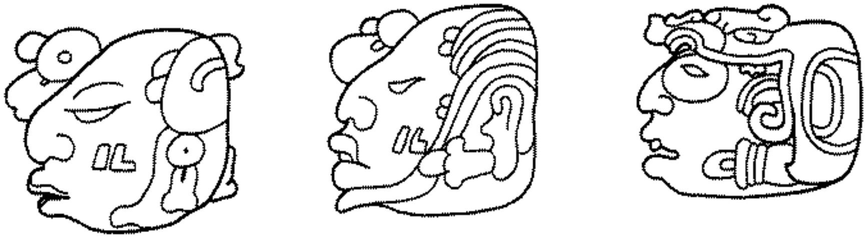


Figure 10.2. Glyphic head variants: (a) *nal*, "maize" (Palenque Sarcophagus 15); (b) *ixik*, "woman" (Palenque Temple of the Sun Tablet, D12); and (c) *nal*, "maize" (Quiriguá Zoomorph P, W3) (drawings by Matthew G. Looper).

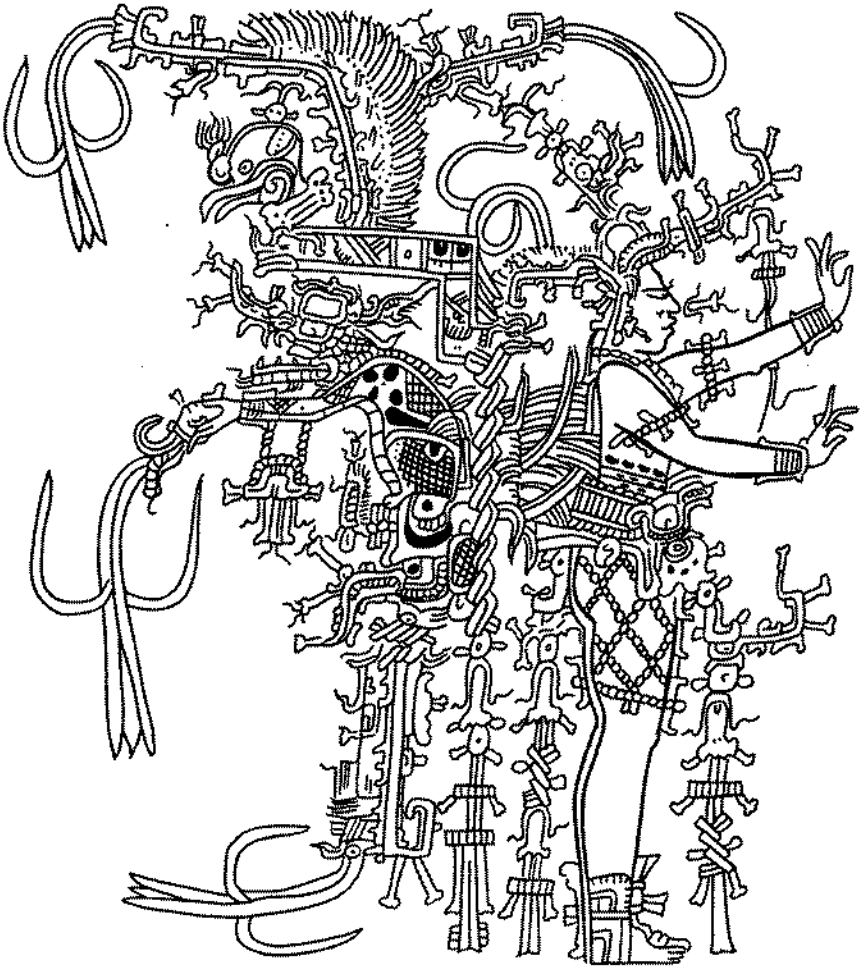


Figure 10.3. Dancing Maize God detail from a polychrome vase (drawing by Matthew G. Looper after a photograph by Justin Kerr in Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: pl. 35).

phor for transformation. The *spondylus* shell that descends from the Xok monster head in the belt assembly has not been adequately explained, although it is possible that this motif has feminine gender associations (see Miller 1974: 154; Taylor 1992: 522). In colonial Yucatán, Diego de Landa reported that unmarried girls wore shells on cords around their waists, "as a token of their purity" (Tozzer 1941: 106; see also Ardren, this volume; Bell, this volume).

Another important aspect of the Maize God is his association with flowers.

During his dance of resurrection, the Maize God is dressed in elaborate jewelry, much of which is marked with small bone-shaped "flower" glyphs and square-nosed serpents that are floral symbols (figures 10.3 and 10.4; see Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 183). When rulers performed as the Maize God, their headdresses usually featured the Quadripartite Badge—the personified plate of sacrifice out of which floral snakes emerge.[7] A simplified version appears elsewhere, as on Copán Stela H (figure 10.1), as a zoomorphic head topped with bell-shaped floral symbols. For both ancient and modern Maya, flowers have strong feminine connotations. Females were (and are) commonly named after flowers. As discussed below, the Black Earth Flower place was a Classic toponym associated with the feminine gender at Piedras Negras and Quiriguá. This symbolism has a clear relation to fecundity, as forces of birth are conveyed by a floral metaphor in Maya art (Looper and Guernsey-Kappelman 2000).[8]

Rather than being a means by which a "male" ruler co-opted or appropriated a feminine role, it seems likely that the androgynous persona of the Maize God created a cultural space in which mixed-gender roles were sanctioned. In particular, several texts at Palenque refer to the gods as *ujuntan*, the "cherished ones of" the ruler (D. Stuart 1997). This expression conventionally links children with a female parent, even though the ruler is glyphically identified as male (Schele 1979:

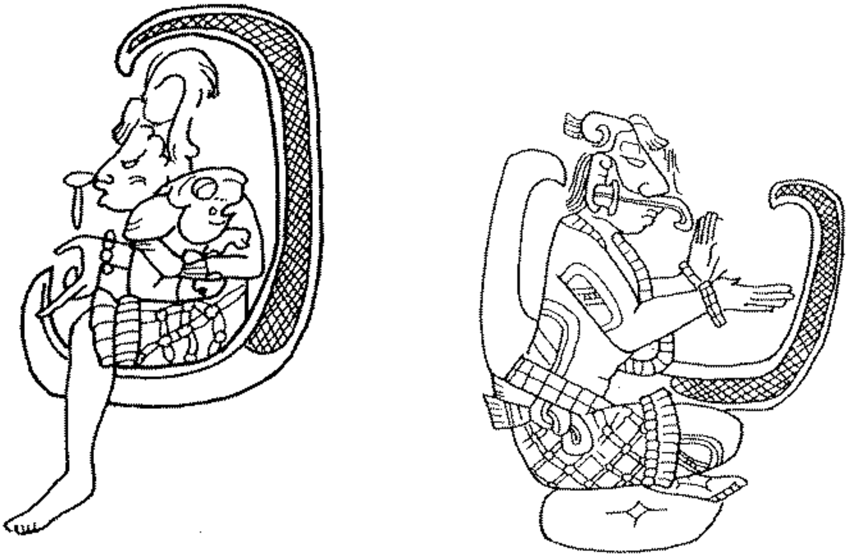


Figure 10.4. Conflated moon–maize deity figures: (a) cylindrical vessel, detail; and (b) Pearlman conch, detail (drawings by Linda Schele).

46). Linda Schele (1979: 46–47) has interpreted the net skirt of Chan Bahlum on the main tablet of the Temple of the Foliated Cross as a reference to the ruler's ritual role as sustainer of the gods. Schele cites the *Popol Vuh,* the colonial period K'iche' book of myth and history, which conceives of sacrifice to the gods as "suckling" (see Edmonson 1971: 168–69). For the Aztecs, maize was conceived as gender cycling, personified alternately by female (flowering stage) and male (mature cob) deities (Hunt 1977: 90–91). Such beliefs are similar to modern Maya veneration of both male and female maize spirits (Thompson 1970: 282–91). In fact, the conceptualization of the Classic maize deity as androgynous may have originated with the monoecious anatomy of maize itself. As any farmer knows, the distinct male organs (the tassel) and female organs (ear and silks) of maize occur on the same plant. Maya rulers may have seen themselves as analogous to the corn plant, alternately able to fertilize and give birth.

Although Maya kings most commonly transformed into the Maize God, androgynous domains were not restricted to males. The net skirt and cape outfit is also a common costume of women (Proskouriakoff 1961; see also Schele 1979: 43). In this context, the costume confers an identity as the Moon Goddess. On the panel of Palenque Temple 14, the mother of Chan Bahlum is shown wearing the net skirt (Schele and Miller 1986: fig. VII.2). In the accompanying text, a portrait head and lunar sign indicate that she is in the guise of the Moon Goddess (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 279–80). Naranjo Stela 24 shows a woman in the same costume and named as an impersonator of the Moon Goddess in the accompanying text (Graham and von Euw 1975: 63; Stuart, Houston, and Robertson 1999: 55). It is important to note that, in contrast to the short skirt and bodily exposure of male rulers transformed into the Maize God, the costume of female Moon Goddess impersonators is relatively feminine. Not only is the body more covered in general, but the skirt descends below the knee. This contrast, as well as their markedly masculine and feminine names, suggests a gender polarization of the Maize God and Moon Goddess as distinctly "male" and "female."

Despite these distinctions, there is reason to consider these two deities as a complementary pair that occupied the same third-gender category. In addition to sharing the net costume, female impersonators of the Moon Goddess, like male Maize God performers, commonly wore the Quadripartite Badge or floral zoomorph as a headdress. The Quadripartite Badge appears, for example, on Naranjo Stela 24, the Palenque Temple 14 panel, the Cleveland Stela, the Dallas Altar, and Calakmul Stela 9.[9] The floral zoomorph is shown as a headdress on Naranjo Stelae 3 and 31, the Dallas Panel, and the Stela of Ok Ahin.[10] The iconographies of the Maize God and Moon Goddess are also merged in several instances (Taube

1992: 64–69). In one example, a deity with masculine nudity and a short skirt is associated with a lunar crescent (figure 10.4a). In another, an apparently female lunar deity has an elongated "tonsured" head, similar to that of the Maize God (figure 10.4b).

Even so, the clear identification of the Maize God as "male" and the Moon Goddess as "female" justifies their distinction as a complementary pair. As such, they are closely analogous to the *Popol Vuh* creator couple Xpiyakok and Xmukane, who are explicitly identified as the paired "grandfather" and "grandmother" (Edmonson 1971). They also seem to be related to the creator couple of the Postclassic Yucatán, Itzamna, and Chak Chel (see Vail and Stone, this volume). In the case of the Maize God and Moon Goddess, perhaps it would be more apt to refer to their identity as "compound" rather than "mixed" gender, which highlights their differences as well as their similarities.

Another close analogue to the Maize God exists among the contemporary K'iche'. Here, men called *chuchqajaaw* are powerful spiritual figures who are simultaneously "male" and yet embody a mixed masculine and feminine gender identity. According to Dennis Tedlock, "In this context, 'mother' and 'father' are complementary metonyms that together produce the sense of 'parent,' but without any final reduction of the difference between motherhood and fatherhood" (1985: 350). The term is also used in the *Popol Vuh* in reference to gods and ancestors (D. Tedlock 1985: 350). In K'iche' society, the *chuchqajaaw* fulfill key roles of diviners and keepers of lineage shrines. In his capacity of primary communicator with ancestors, the *chuchqajaaw* comes especially close to the domain personified by the Classic Maize God. Another K'iche' term for "our ancestors," *qataat qanaan,* is also a diaphrase based on *taat* (father) and *naan* (mother) (Ajpacaja et al. 1996: 378).

If Classic Maya lords accessed feminine powers when they dressed as the Maize God, "female" rulers did the converse when they impersonated the Moon Goddess. The Oval Palace Tablet of Palenque shows the mother of King Pakal seated before her enthroned son, offering him a martial headdress as part of his accession rite (figure 10.5). In addition to the androgynous net skirt and cape, Lady Sak K'uk' is shown wearing her hair cut short and with stepped sides, in a masculine manner. She also wears a loincloth, which is a masculine garment (Schele 1979: 51). This costume, which combines the masculine and feminine, stresses the androgynous identity of this woman, who ruled in her own right at Palenque. Shown in front of her son, Lady Sak K'uk' is represented in the manner of an important ancestral figure who embodies the powers of the two-spirit.

Lady Sak K'uk's possession of the war helmet on the Oval Palace Tablet is but one instance of the access to masculine domains opened to women in the

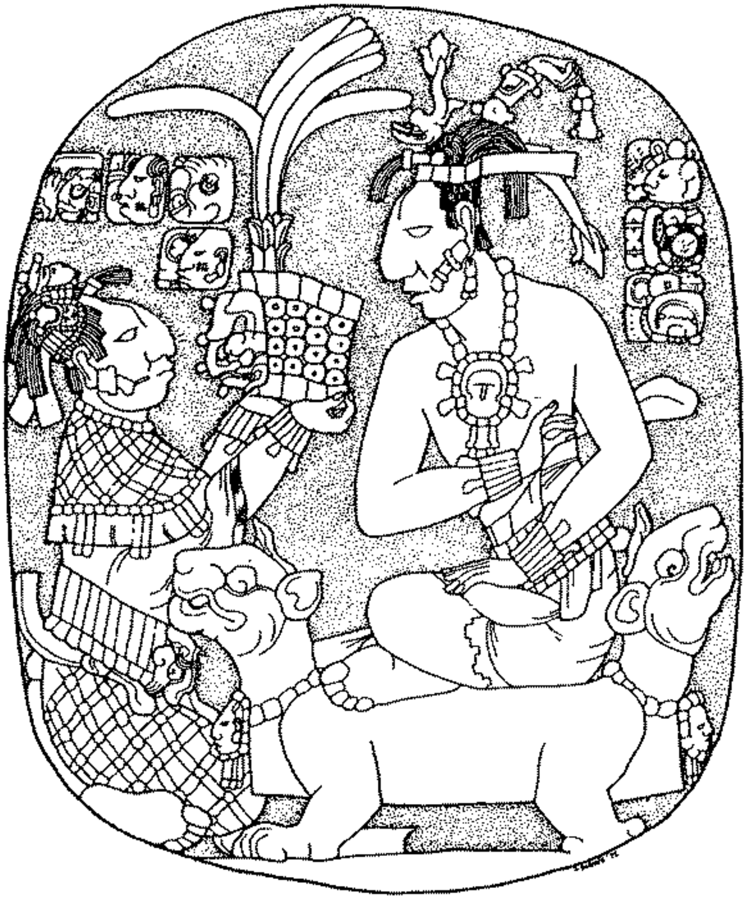


Figure 10.5. Palenque Oval Palace Tablet (drawing by Linda Schele).

guise of a third-gender deity. Other women assumed the identity of the Moon Goddess for purposes of warfare. One example is Lady Six Sky, who on Naranjo Stela 24 is shown trampling captives and wearing the trapeze-and-ray war symbol in her headdress (Graham and von Euw 1975: 63). Another is the woman shown on the Cleveland Stela (Miller 1974: fig. 2). Dressed in a long *huipil* rendered in the net pattern, she holds a shield in one hand and a war banner in the other. Transformed into the Moon Goddess, these women moved in a mixed-gender realm, where many ceremonies normally open only to males were accessible.[11]

In summary, there is a strong resemblance between the Maize God/Moon Goddess identity of the Classic Maya ruler and two-spirit traditions in other cultures. Like native North American two-spirits, both the Maize God and the Moon Goddess are identified as mixed gender, mainly through their costume. At the same time, distinctions are maintained between the two deities' names, dress styles, and domains, which is similar to the differentiation between native North American men-women and women-men. Finally, the pairing of these two deities is reminiscent of the complementarity of men-women and women-men in many native North American societies (Roscoe 1998: 91–92).

Having suggested this model for interpreting the Maize God/Moon Goddess pair in ancient Maya elite culture based principally on iconography and ritual complexes, it is possible to expand the investigation into the realm of monumental art programs. Many examples of ancient Maya compositions, monumental forms, and architectural spaces illustrate the complementary relationship of masculine and feminine domains (Joyce 1996a). The following four case studies, from Quiriguá, Palenque, Naranjo, and Tikal, suggest that such programs often highlight a third, hierarchically distinct, space associated with a mixed-gender identity. Each of these programs is integrated through specific poetic devices. The repeated, stylized construction of gender through these programs is evidence of a gender identity that achieved political prominence during the Late Classic period.

Quiriguá

In a series of recent studies, several scholars have proposed that a fundamental basis of power for ancient Maya rulers was the narrative of cosmogenesis (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993; Looper 1995a, 1995b; Schele and Looper 1996; Schele and Mathews 1998). Expressed in texts and images from several Maya sites, this narrative describes the ordering of the present cosmos by a series of deities, centered on the date 13 August 3114 B.C.E. The text on the east face of Stela C from Quiriguá, Guatemala, is one of the most elaborate of these accounts (figure 10.6). The first event of this day is the appearance of the constellation of a turtle, recorded at Quiriguá in the formulaic phrase that translates as "the image is manifested" (B6). In Maya mythology, this event corresponds to the birth of the Maize God, the personification of fruiting maize, from the back of a turtle (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 65).

The second event that is recorded for this day is expressed in a series of phrases, beginning with a phrase that reads *k'alaj ux tun*, "three stones are bound/fastened" (A7). This event refers to the sacralization of stone monuments, such as stelae and altars, through binding with cloth bands or ropes (Stuart 1996). This action was an important part of the dedication of monuments during the Classic period, and the text at Quiriguá attributes its origins to the creation of

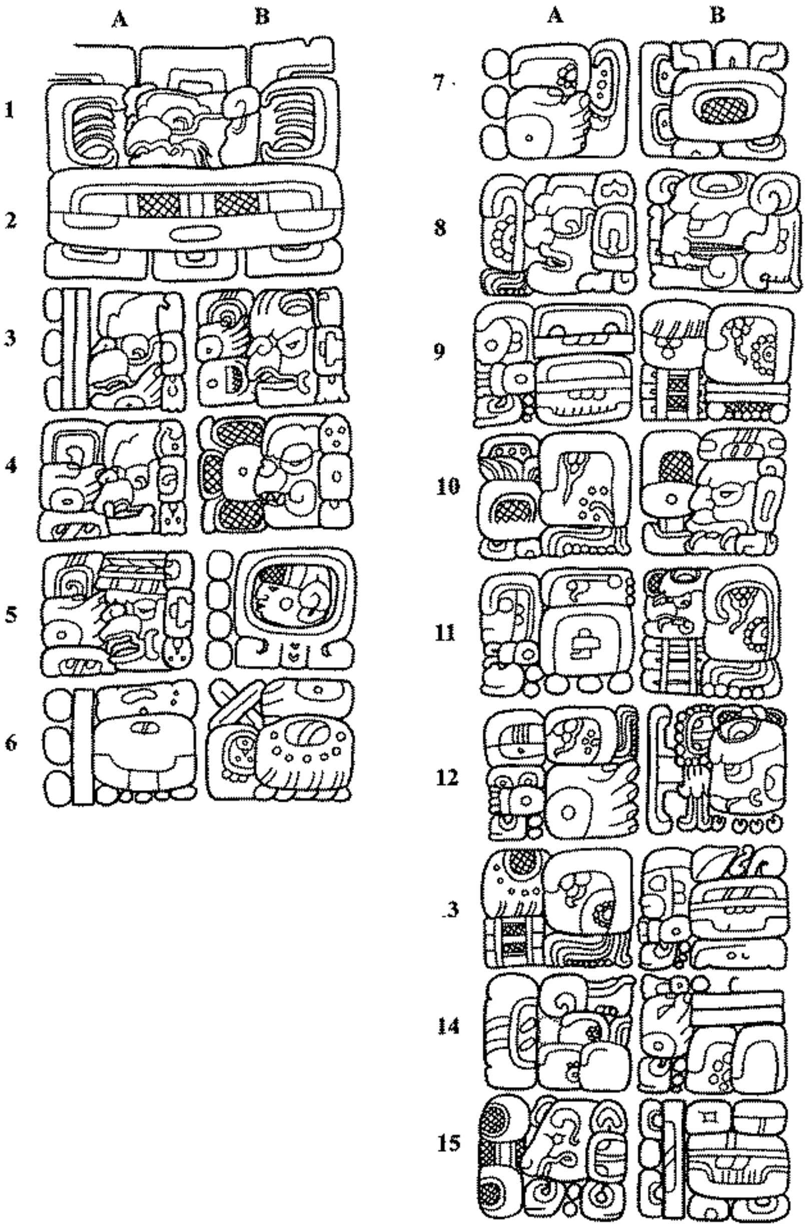

A
B
1
2
3
4
5
6
A
B
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15

Figure 10.6. Quiriguá Stela C, east text (drawing by Matthew G. Looper).

the world. The Stela C text continues with a precise description of the three stones dedicated. The dedication of the first stone is attributed to a pair of deities known as the "Paddler Gods," at a celestial supernatural location (B7–A9). This stone is specified as a "jaguar throne stone" (B9). The second stone is set up by another deity, at a place that may be "great town" (A10–A11). It is said to be a "snake throne stone" (B11). The third stone is "bound" by the deity Itzamna at a place called "?? sky, first three-stone place" (A12–A14). The third stone is referred to as a "water throne stone" (A13).

Although these three stones have been compared with the three stones that traditionally compose the Maya hearth, it is clear from the Stela C text that they are not of equal importance (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 66–67; Looper 1995b). Not only do they have different supernatural patrons, locations, and identities, but the syntax of the Stela C text sorts them hierarchically. The passages that describe the first two settings are exactly parallel, beginning with an identical verb, which reads *tz'apaj*, "is stuck in the ground." Following this are the object, subject, place, and finally a restatement of the object. This pattern compares the first two stones, identifying them as complementary. The syntax of the phrase recording the dedication of the third throne is different. It begins with a verbal phrase reading "and then it happened," which is used in Maya texts to draw attention to or highlight the featured event (Josserand 1991). Then the clause records the dedication action with the "tie up/bind" verb, which contrasts with the verb used in reference to the first two stones. Following this is the agent, but then the syntax is reversed from the first two dedication passages; the stone is identified before the place is recorded. The syntactic and verbal variance between the first two passages and the third characterizes the third throne as distinct; in addition, the highlighting of the final verbal phrase defines it as a climactic event. In this sense, the narrative structure of the Stela C text is comparable to the triadic parallel poetic form common in spoken Maya verse. In this style, a variation in the third line of a parallel sequence of three lines signals the end of the verse (Tedlock 1983: 220).

The poetic structure of complementarity and hierarchy regarding the three stones seen in the Stela C text manifests again in the program of three monuments that the text introduces (Looper 1995b). Stelae C and A and Zoomorph B were the last monuments commissioned during the reign of the ruler K'ahk Tiliw Chan Yoat. Dedicated in 775 C.E. (Stelae C and A) and 780 C.E. (Zoomorph B), the triad occupies the northwest corner of a larger grouping of monuments located in the northern end of the Great Plaza, the center of public ceremony at Quiriguá. Dedicated on the same date, Stelae C and A also share size, shape, and format, with texts on the sides and images on the obverse and reverse (figure 10.7). The

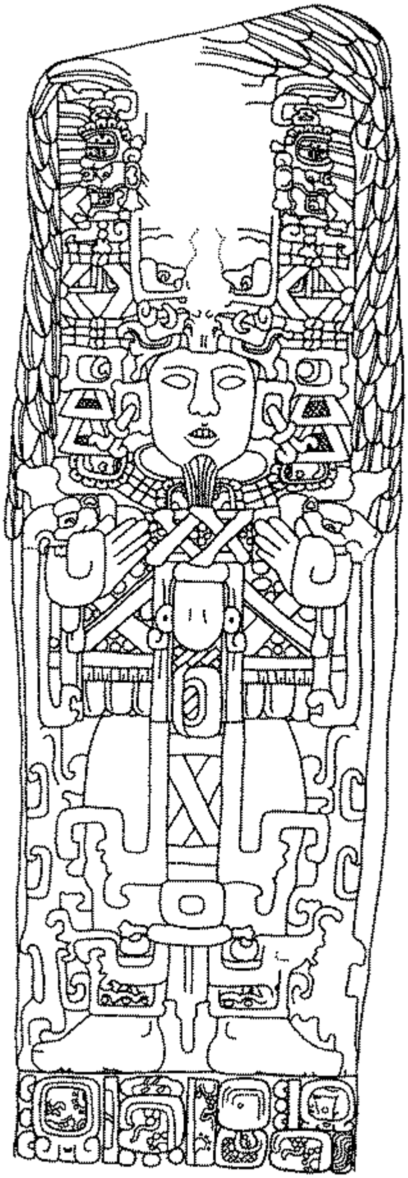


Figure 107.(a). Quiriguá Stela C, south face (drawing by Matthew G. Looper).

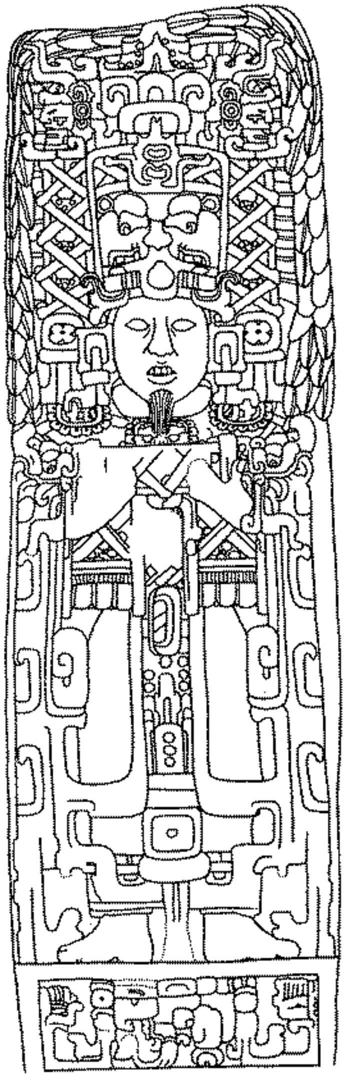


Figure 107.(b). Quiriguá Stela A, south face (obverse) (drawing by Matthew G. Looper).

images on the obverses of these two stelae display royal portraits showing the king holding thrones. Although similar, these two thrones bear different finial heads. On Stela C, the heads are those of jaguars; on Stela A, they pertain to snakes. The two stelae, then, show the king acting in the role of a god, setting the first two thrones of creation. The association of these thrones with two nearly identical monuments that were set up on the same date matches the complementarity of the thrones mentioned in the Stela C text.

If Stelae C and A correspond to the first two creation stones, it follows that the final monument of the triad, Zoomorph B, embodies the third (figure 10.8). Indeed, Zoomorph B is a large carved boulder, a form similar to other monuments at the site that are glyphically identified as thrones.[12] Further, its form is a crocodilian supernatural (the Cosmic Monster) marked with large water scrolls. This imagery identifies it with the third creation stone, referred to in the Stela C text as a "water throne stone." Whereas Stelae C and A represent the action of the setting of the first two thrones, Zoomorph B is a replica of the third throne. Thus, the first two thrones are differentiated from the third throne through a hierarchy of representational modes in the monuments at Quiriguá.

Palenque

Leaving Quiriguá for the moment, we find in the art of distant Palenque, in Chiapas, Mexico, another example of the poetic structure of complementary relation and hierarchy suggested for the three creation stones at Quiriguá. A relief panel known as the Palace Tablet portrays the accession of the Palenque ruler K'an Xul (figure 10.9). The ruler, seated in central position atop a throne marked with aquatic (Xok monster) heads, is flanked by his parents, who are shown atop jaguar- and snake-headed thrones (Schele 1979: 58; see also Helmuth 1987: III–29). These heads identify the thrones with the three thrones of creation. In this

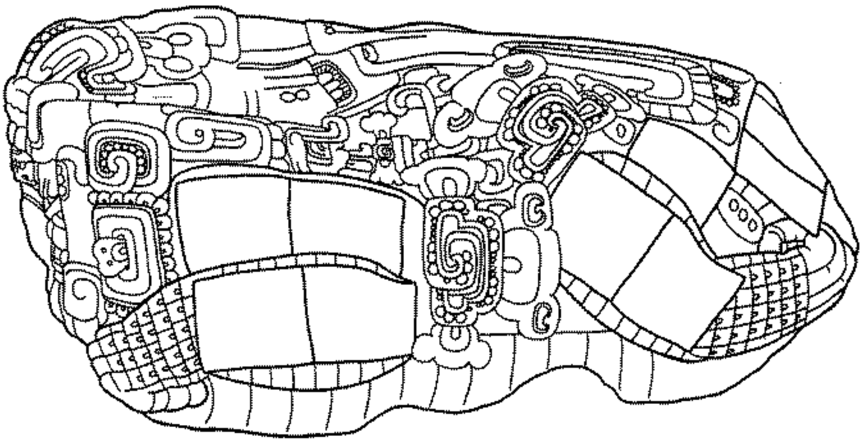


Figure 10.8. Quiriguá Zoomorph B, east face (drawing by Matthew G. Looper).

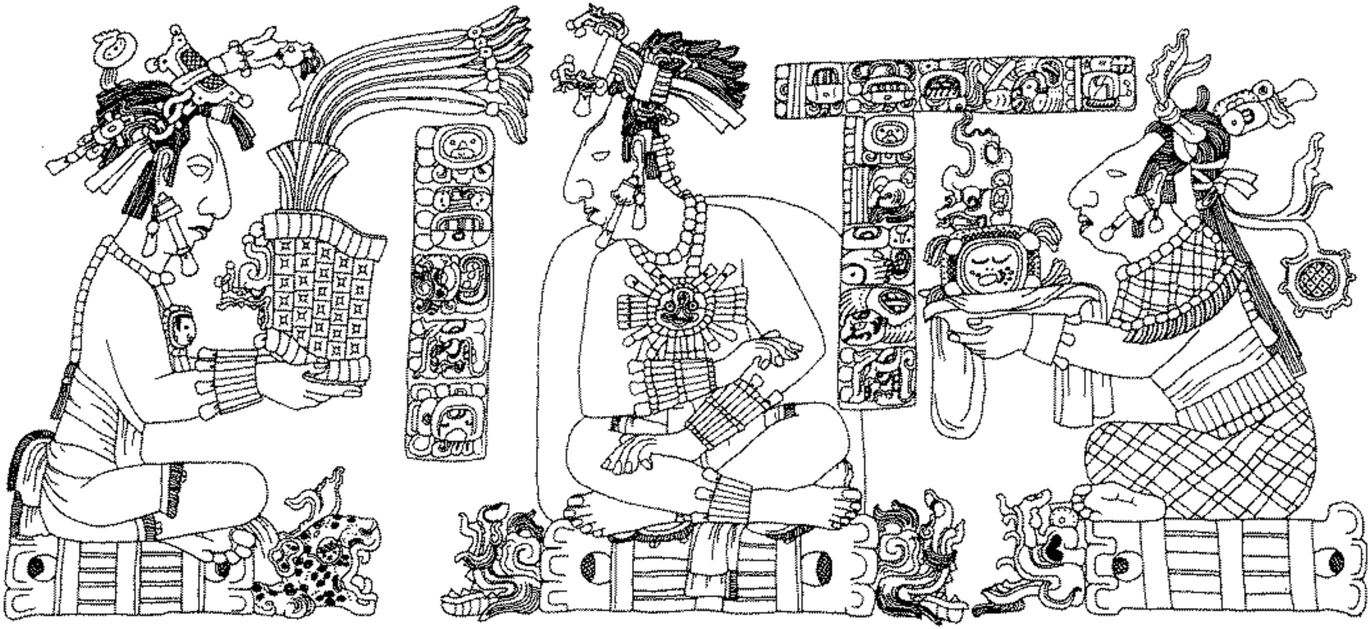


Figure 10.9. Palenque Palace Tablet, detail (drawing by Linda Schele).

image, the positioning of the jaguar and snake thrones to the left and right of the king and their association with the father and mother of the king suggest their complementary relationship. In contrast, the third throne is placed in the center of the composition and has two heads instead of one, implying its hierarchical distinction from the others. The Xok-headed water throne is also the seat of the living king, thereby distinguishing it from the others by age and generation. This association of youth with the water throne is consistent with the Quiriguá Stela C text, which cites this throne as the newest of the triad.

The definition of rulership based on the contrast of the paired jaguar and snake emblems is seen elsewhere in Maya iconography. One of the most common representations of this concept is the image of the ruler holding the God K scepter in one hand and a shield in the other, as on Quiriguá Stela E (Looper 1995a: fig. 5.33a). Often, the shield is emblazoned with the visage of a jaguar deity, while the foot of God K is typically transformed into a serpent. As on the Palace Tablet, a royal identity is defined by a central image of the ruler flanked by secondary symbols of jaguar and snake. This representation is extremely common, constituting a major ritual guise of royal portraits. Its frequency of appearance indicates the fundamental nature of paired jaguar and snake emblems as embodiments of powers that were central to the definition of Maya kingship.

The three thrones represented on the Palace Tablet also correspond to the identities of three supernatural patrons of Palenque: God I, or GI; God II, or GII; and God III, or GIII (Berlin 1963; Schele 1979: 61). The jaguar throne corresponds to the jaguar features of GIII; the snake throne matches GII, a deity with a snake foot; and the piscine head of the central throne refers to the aquatic features of GI. At Palenque, the major monument associated with these three deities is the Cross Group, a triad of pyramids located in the site core (figure 10.10). Arranged around three sides of a rectangular plaza, each pyramid supports a shrine dedicated to one of the triad gods. On the west and east sides of the plaza, the Temple of the Sun and the Temple of the Foliated Cross are associated with GIII and GII. Framed by these two pyramids and dominating them in height and axial position, the Temple of the Cross is dedicated to GI. The triadic structure of the pyramids in the Cross Group thus replicates in architectural form the complementary relationship of the jaguar and snake thrones seen at Quiriguá and in the Palace Tablet (Looper 1995b). The hierarchical dominance of the Temple of the Cross corresponds to that of the third throne, the water throne. The identities of the supernatural patrons of the Palenque Cross Group suggest that the triadic structure of Maya architecture codifies the same domains of royal power as the three stones of creation.[13]

The three stones of creation are distinguished not only through formal and

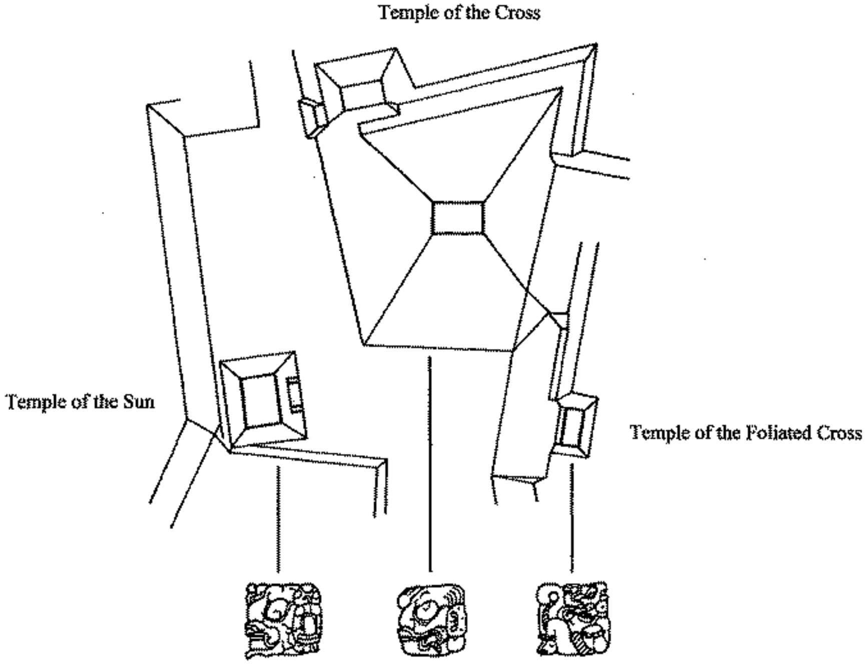


Figure 10.10. Palenque Cross Group, with names of associated deities (drawing by Matthew G. Looper).

compositional relationships in texts and images but also by gender associations. For example, the Palace Tablet image assigns the king's father to the jaguar throne, while the mother sits upon the snake throne (figure 10.9). The association of the mother with the snake throne recalls the close association of women with rituals of bloodletting and ancestor communication (see Proskouriakoff 1961; Stone 1988). Based on the biological potential of a woman as mother, this association is supported by texts and iconography. A number of monuments principally from Yaxchilán show royal women bearing the instruments of bloodletting or communicating with ancestors through vision serpents.[14] In addition, some women were named after vision serpents, such as Lady Yax Rabbit of Yaxchilán, shown on Bonampak Stela 2 (Mathews 1980: fig. 3). Yaxchilán Lintel 14 even names a vision serpent as the spirit companion of one of these women (Houston and Stuart 1989: fig. 4). A mythical prototype for the ritual role is recorded in the text of the Temple of the Foliated Cross at Palenque, in which the primordial conjuring of gods through bloodletting is performed by a maternal goddess, Lady Beastie (Schele and Freidel 1990: 254–55).

The domain of bloodletting and ancestor communication suggested for the second creation throne matches the associations of the patron of the corresponding temple at Palenque, the Temple of the Foliated Cross. First, the snake foot and features of God K correspond precisely to the animal symbol of the second throne of creation. In many pottery scenes, the leg of God K itself transforms into the vision serpent through which supernaturals and humans are born into this world (Houston and Stuart 1989: 8). In addition, God K is sometimes shown holding mirrors, as in the statues from Tikal Burial 195 (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: fig. 4:15).[15] The mirror is one of the most ancient Mesoamerican symbols of the portal to the supernatural world, out of which gods and ancestors are reborn. The supernatural patron of the Temple of the Foliated Cross is itself the embodiment of the portal of ancestral rebirth, matching closely the stereotypical female role as mother. In addition, the text of the main tablet of the Temple of the Foliated Cross features the conjuration of a deity by Lady Beastie (see Schele and Freidel 1990: 248). This event seems to highlight the association of the temple with the feminine gender and with the domain of bloodletting and ancestor communication.

Returning briefly to the Palace Tablet, if the snake throne on which the ruler's mother sits refers to the primary ritual role of elite Maya women, then it seems reasonable that the jaguar throne on which her husband sits represents the canonical masculine domain of warfare (Freidel 1989; Joyce 1996b: 14, n.d.). Indeed, the Maya fully exploited the jaguar as a symbol of military prowess, incorporating jaguar headdresses and paws into war costuming, as on Yaxchilán Lintel 26 or Dos Pilas Stela 16 (Schele and Miller 1986: 213–14). Jaguar deities commonly appear in texts and images associated with palanquins or litters, which were carried into battle by ancient Maya warriors (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 310–17). In recent times, as well, jaguars are conceptualized as supernatural protectors of Maya towns (Thompson 1970: 291). The association of the first stone of creation with warfare is documented in the Palenque Temple of the Sun, which symbolizes this stone in architectural form. In the main panel of this shrine, the primary emblem is a jaguar-snake throne, coupled with a shield bearing the image of a jaguar deity in association with crossed spears (Schele and Freidel 1990: fig. 6:13). Another example is the Vase of the Seven Gods, which shows God L, a (jaguarian) patron of warfare, seated on the jaguar throne of creation (Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: fig. 2:6; Grube and Schele 1994a).

Additional iconography from Quiriguá Stelae C and A reinforces the interpretations of the symbolic domains of the first two thrones. On Stela C, the king's costume includes several elements associated with warfare, including the trapezoidal banners and triple-knotted zigzag staffs that appear in the headdress flanges (figure 10.7a). Trapezoidal banners are associated with the circular shields attached to spears in the headdress shown on Quiriguá Stela J (Maudslay 1889–1902, 2: pls. 45b–45c), and they are also associated with warrior costume shown on the Copán Hieroglyphic Stairway (Fash 1991: 145, fig. 91; Looper 1995a: 114). Elsewhere in Maya art the knotted zigzag staffs are terminated with flint blades and associated with war costume (Looper 1995a: fig. 4.25).

On Stela A, the king's headdress consists of an exploded version of the Quadripartite Badge, the Classic Maya icon interpreted as the deified plate of sacrificial offering (figure 10.7b; see Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: 216–17). Although the sacrificial plate itself is not present, the sun signs adjacent to the king's own ear flares take the place of the sun-marked plate. Atop the headdress personification head are several elements, including a crown of crossed bands, surmounted by a tri-lobed element. This combination of motifs stands for the crossed-bands pectoral element that usually appears in the Quadripartite Badge. The other two elements of the Quadripartite Badge—a shell (embodying powers of fertility) and stingray spine (used in bloodletting)—also appear in this stack. The aggregation of elements of the king's headdress on Stela A represents the deified plate of sacrifice, the most compact symbol of the ritual of autosacrifice and ancestor communication, a domain that was codified by the second stone of creation held by the ruler.

The texts of Stelae C and A also contain elements that reinforce the gender associations of the first two creation thrones. The west text of Stela C, in particular, features a monument dedication by a king of Quiriguá in 455 C.E., more than three centuries before the carving of Stela C (Looper 1995a: fig. 6.10). This text underscores the association of the first creation stone, shown on Stela C, with a male ancestor. The equivalent text on Stela A, in contrast, opens with the record of a calendrical observation in the remote past, which took place at a location that may be translated as Black Earth Flower (Looper 1995a: fig. 6.12b, D4). Interestingly, the same toponym appears on the legs and front panel of a bench upon which the wife and daughter of Piedras Negras Ruler 3 are shown seated on Piedras Negras Stela 3. Not only does the association of this toponym with women recall the female association of the second throne of creation, but the bench panel shows a scene of a vision rite taking place in association with the toponym. The mention of this location in the text of Stela A at Quiriguá, then, serves to highlight the associations of the throne that the monument commemorates.

But what of the third throne, the water throne? We have seen how it is conceptualized as hierarchically separate, maintaining the generational distinction between parents and child. But the central throne of the Palace Tablet is also adorned with Xok monster heads, identical to those worn on the Maize God's belt, thereby assuring the association between this throne and the Maize God. The special association of the third throne with the Maize God is also seen in the elaborate symbolism of the Temple of the Cross at Palenque. Although the primary deity to whom the temple is dedicated is GI, the main panel text of the temple also features an account of the birth and actions of the father of the gods, the Maize God, during cosmogenesis.[16] In fact, this text suppresses the name of GI in order to focus attention on the father (Lounsbury 1980: 114). At Palenque, the GI portrait head is used in both names of the father and son, highlighting the conceptual overlap between the two deities. In fact, it is likely that these deities are aspects of each other. But it is also possible to connect the Temple of the Cross with the Moon Goddess. The main inscription of this temple features the birth of Lady Beastie or "First Mother," who may be an avatar of the moon (Dütting and Aveni 1982; Schele and Freidel 1990: 252–53). In sum, in the Cross Group at Palenque, two flanking temples embody masculine and feminine gender statuses, while the third axial and dominant structure represents the domain of the androgynous Maize God/Moon Goddess. The dominant metaphor of creation conveyed in the Cross Group texts and architectural layout legitimated the claims of its patron to supernatural ancestry.

Naranjo

Another example of the mapping of gender onto the cosmogenesis narrative appears in the stela program at Naranjo, in eastern Guatemala. Like the Palenque Cross Group, this program is associated with a triadic pyramid complex formed by Structures C-6, C-7, and C-9 (figure 10.11).[17] The stelae were dedicated on four Period Endings, the first three at intervals of five *tuns* (5 360 days). The first two, Stelae 22 and 24, were dedicated in 702 C.E. These monuments were placed in front of the paired Structures C-6 and C-7, across the plaza from each other. Stela 22 shows the accession of King K'ahk Tiliw Chan Chahk (Smoking Squirrel), while Stela 24 depicts the king's mother, Lady Six Sky, trampling a captive. The next two monuments, Stelae 21 and 23, dedicated in 706 and 711 C.E., were set up in front of Structure C-6. Like Stela 22, with which they are grouped, they show images of K'ahk Tiliw Chan Chahk, dressed for war on Stela 21 and dancing with the God K manikin scepter on Stela 23. The program thus far segregates stelae depicting a man from the monument depicting a woman by association with the opposing pyramids, Structures C-6 and C-7.

The final two monuments, however, change both the pattern of dedication on five-*tun* intervals as well as the segregation of the stelae of the two rulers on oppo-

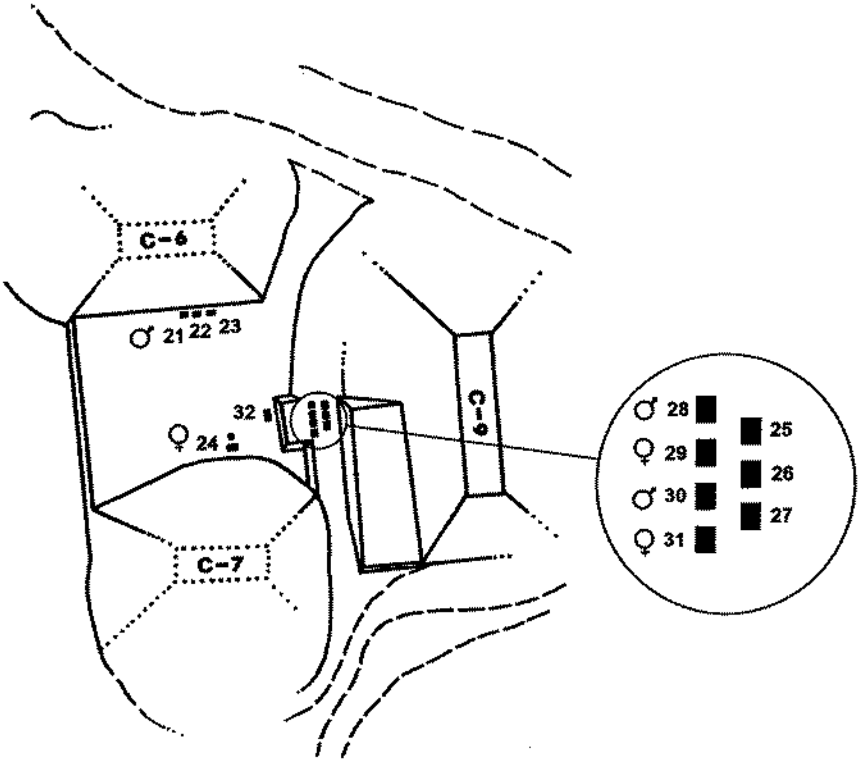


Figure 10.11. Map of the Naranjo triadic complex formed by Structures C-6, C-7, and C-9. Female and male signs identify monuments displaying portraits of Lady Six Sky and K'ahk Tiliw Chan Chahk (drawing by Matthew G. Looper after Graham and von Euw 1975: 7).

site sides of the plaza. The two stelae, 29 and 30, were dedicated three *tuns* after the previous monuments, in 714 C.E., and were erected in front of Structure C-9, creating a triangular arrangement of stelae clusters in the plaza. Although the obverse of Stela 29 is highly eroded, the image of Lady Six Sky standing on a captive is apparent. The obverse of Stela 30 is in much better condition and shows K'ahk Tiliw Chan Chahk, also positioned atop a captive. The two monuments, therefore, bring together the gender distinction of the flanking pyramids, identifying the axial structure with both masculine and feminine genders.[18]

In addition, the axial position is associated with ancestors. First, Stela 30 shows the king wearing a jaguar deity costume and carrying a staff and tri-lobed flint associated with rituals shown on Tikal Temple III Lintel 2 and Altar 5 (Jones and Satterthwaite 1982: figs. 23, 72). In the Tikal contexts, these costumes are associated with rituals of exhumation of ancestral bones (Grube and Schele 1994b). Further, among the additional monuments installed in front of Structure C-9 was Stela 25, a monument erected by an early ruler of Naranjo. This monument confirms the association of Structure C-9 with ancestors, and, indeed, it would be no surprise if Structure C-9 were found to contain a tomb. In sum, the complex of Structures C-6, C-7, and C-9 utilizes stela imagery to identify the flanking pyramids with male and female rulers, while the axial pyramid is associated with combined masculine and feminine genders and with ancestors. This program is important because it establishes the link between a living ruler and the ancestors, developing an androgynous third-gender identity for both. As with the Cross Group and Palace Tablet of Palenque, here gender domains are mapped onto a spatial and temporal poetic structure that also expresses the theme of cosmogenesis.

Tikal

Another example of a Maya triadic complex, in which flanking pyramids are identified with male and female and a third is associated with the two-spirit Maize God, appears in the heart of Tikal. Over the course of several centuries, the North Acropolis of Tikal incorporated many triadic complexes. The latest, visible at the site today, is composed of Temples I and II, which face each other across the plaza and were built in the first half of the eighth century C.E., and Structure 5D-33, which dominates the axial position (figure 10.12). Built over the tomb of Jasaw Chan K'awil (Ruler A), Temple I was fitted with lintels that bear images of the king seated in palanquins (Jones 1977; Schele and Freidel 1990: 205–11). The lintel of Temple II, in contrast, features the portrait of a woman who is assumed to be the wife of Jasaw Chan K'awil, although she was apparently buried elsewhere (Coggins 1975: 455). Indeed, the associations of these buildings with personae may be strong; Mary Ellen Miller (1985) suggests that the taller Temple I personifies Jasaw Chan K'awil, while the opposite, squatter Temple II embodies his wife. These two gender-marked structures frame Structure 5D-33, the final version of which (5D-33-1st) was dedicated in 695 C.E. In fact, the lintels of Temple I apparently record the dedication of Structure 5D-33-1st and feature militaristic iconography that refers to the Early Classic king Siyaj Chan K'awil (Stormy Sky), who was interred beneath, in Burial 48. In addition, the dedication date of Structure 5D-33-1st, recorded in Temple I, took place exactly thirteen *k'atuns* after the last date on Siyaj Chan K'awil's most important monument, Stela 31 (Schele and Freidel 1990: 208). This symmetry affirms the integrity of the program of three structures, binding the personae of the Late Classic ruler and his wife with his ancestors.

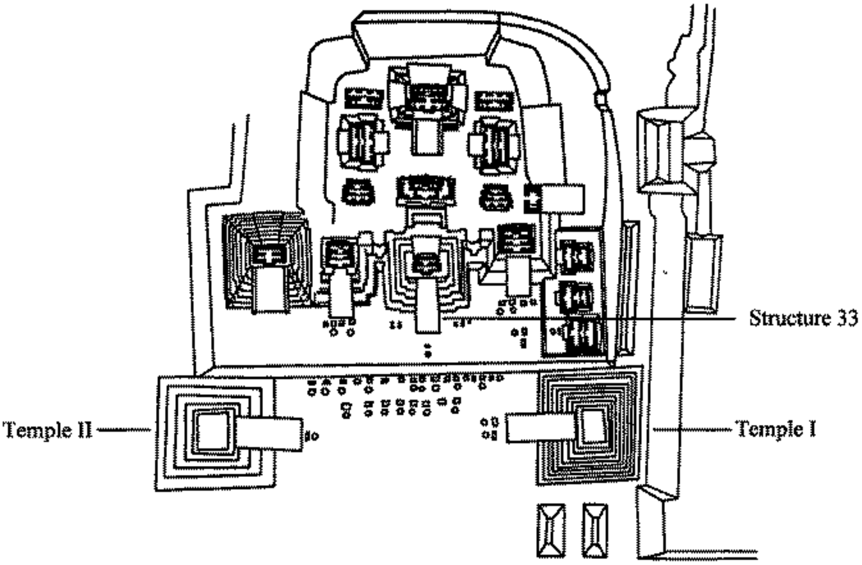


Figure 10.12. Map of Tikal's Central Plaza and North Acropolis (drawing by Linda Schele).

Further, the previous version of Structure 5D-33 (Structure 5D-33-2nd) bears stucco masks of the mountain of creation on its platforms (Schele and Freidel 1990: fig. 5:2). This iconography identifies the occupant of the tomb beneath with the Maize God, who was reborn from this mountain. Stucco crocodilians or Cosmic Monsters that flank the doorway of the temple superstructure also mark this structure as the equivalent of the third throne of creation. This iconography corresponds to that of Quiriguá Zoomorph B, which also embodies the third creation throne. Together with the explicit marking of Temples I and II as masculine and feminine, the imagery of Structure 5D-33 reinforces the spatial symbolism of the three temples to *identify* Siyaj Chan K'awil as the prime ancestor and third-gender being, the Maize God.

Discussion

Through elaborate interweavings of text, iconography, and architectural space, several Maya art programs define three distinct gender statuses, personified by deities and dramatized by human rulers. It is worthy of note that only in the case of the Cross Group of Palenque is the Moon Goddess explicitly associated with the third gender. As discussed by Schele and Freidel (1990: 216–61), there were compelling political reasons for emphasizing this deity, as succession required legitimation through a woman. In most cases, by contrast, the patrilineal inheritance of kingship was acknowledged through the masculine aspect of the third-gender status (the Maize God).

It is also useful to consider the historical context and relationships of the diverse programs described above. Interestingly, all were commissioned within a period of about one century. The earliest is the Cross Group at Palenque, dedicated in 692 C.E., and the Palace Tablet dates to 721 C.E. Although begun roughly fifty years earlier, Tikal Temples I and II were completed by 741 C.E. The stelae associated with Naranjo Structures C-6, C-7, and C-9 are dated between 702 and 714 C.E., suggesting that Tikal might have been inspired by this program. The Quiriguá program is quite late, completed in 780 C.E. Not only are these various programs characterized by widely ranging genres and modes of representation, but they use the triadic parallel structure as a vehicle for different combinations of metaphors, as presented in table 10.1.[19] Even if only part of the metaphor is explicitly marked, the program is included in the table. For example, even though the Tikal program does not mark Temples I and II with jaguar and snake imagery, it is represented in the table because Structure 33 has crocodilian (Cosmic Monster) imagery.

In the earliest program, the Palenque Cross Group, all three gender statuses

Table 10.1. Metaphors Conveyed in Triadic Parallel Constructions.

Metaphor	*1st Element*	*2nd Element*	*3rd Element*	*Program*
animal	jaguar	snake	water/Xok monster/crocodile	PALC, PALP, TIK, QRG
deities	GIII	GII	GI/Maize God/Moon Goddess	PALC, TIK
ritual domain	war	bloodletting/ ancestor communication	birth/resurrection	PALC, QRG, TIK
gender	masculine	feminine	(mixed)	NAR, PALC, PALP, QRG, TIK
generation	father	mother	child/ancestor	NAR, PALP, TIK
creation thrones	1st stone throne	2nd stone throne	3rd stone throne	PALP, QRG

Program abbreviations: QRG = Quiriguá Stelae A and C and Zoomorph B; PALC = Palenque Cross Group; PALP = Palenque Palace Tablet; TIK = Tikal Temples I and II and Structure 5D-33; NAR = Naranjo Structures C-6, C-7, and C-9 and associated stelae.

are marked, through ritual domains and deity associations. It seems likely that this program inspired the Palace Tablet and possibly the Tikal program as well. While future excavations may reveal earlier triadic complexes with gender markings, it would appear from the present data that only late in the Late Classic period was the triadic parallel used in visual art as a mode for expressing the mixed-gender identity of the Maize God and Moon Goddess.

It is essential to stress that the third-gender status occupied by rulers is only one of many gender performances in the Classic period (see Butler 1990; Joyce 1998, 2000a, n.d.). For instance, this particular status is distinct from "gender crossing." That is, when "males" impersonated the Maize God, they did not become "female." Gender crossing from masculine to feminine did in fact happen in Classic Maya culture, but it occurred in different contexts from Maize God or Moon Goddess impersonation. One example is a performance of actors representing an old god and young goddess, represented in ceramic paintings and figurines (Taube 1989b).[20] Stone (1995: 146) suggests that this performance might have been a comical critique of lewd, immoral behavior. Usually, the female character is depicted wearing an entirely feminine costume. However, in some ceramic images and in another representation of this performance from Naj Tunich cave, the female character has no breasts, indicating that these are images of female impersonation by males (Stone 1985, 1995: 145). The figure on the right wears a masculine scribal headdress and possibly a (masculine) loincloth but has a feminine queue of hair descending down the back (see Stone 1995: 145). However, this should not be taken as a sign of mixed-gender identity. As pointed out by Bricker, in contemporary Tzotzil performances, "the fact that a female impersonator wears men's sandals, trousers, and hat is unimportant; what counts is that he wear the three basic components of the woman's costume: skirt, blouse, and shawl" (1973: 152; see also Stone 1995: 145). In these cases, the context of the performance determines the gender status of the performer as female. In contrast, as Maize God or Moon Goddess, Maya elites appropriated distinctive mythical personae as well as a costume that pertained specifically to the domain of these deities.[21] The fact that the "shameless couple" dance is depicted most commonly in ceramic paintings and figurines rather than on monuments may suggest a more "popular" or informal role for the dance as opposed to elite performances as Maize God and Moon Goddess.

The significant changes in ritual manifestations and social functions of the third-gender status demonstrated above give us cause to consider the fluidity of gender throughout Maya history. Like the categories of masculine and feminine, the mixed category is flexible, adapting to new political and social contexts. Further, it is clear that even within a given historical period, such as the Classic era, the history of gender is extremely rich. There may have been two mixed-gender statuses, one relatively permanent like the North American woman-man status and the other transformational, enacted by males and females during ceremonial contexts, as described here. Further, like the native North American two-spirit, whose identity is often established through the vision quest, the Maya ruler's gender mixing was based on shamanistic practices. This may be the most significant feature that connects the Maya case to North American traditions. From a political point of view, the transformations by ancient Maya rulers into the Maize God and Moon Goddess suggest a revision of the standard view of men and women belonging to necessarily polarized, competing gender categories. The third-gender status provided a place of mixing, a locus of androgynous sexual potential that was identified through triadic poetic presentation.

Notes

Acknowledgments. I would like to thank F. Kent Reilly III for assisting in the organization of the session "Costume and Gender in Mesoamerican Art" at the 1999 American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting in Chicago, where a version of this chapter was first presented. The final version of this essay benefited not only from his comments but also from the constructive criticisms of Sarah Caldwell, Rosemary Joyce, and Thomas Tolles.

1. The Franciscan friar Juan de Torquemada follows Casas closely in his report on this institution (see Guerra 1971: 172–73).

2. The glosses given by Bricker and associates are "male homosexual" and "lesbian" (Bricker, Po'ot Yah, and Dzul de Po'ot 1998: 88). See also Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980: 144.

3. In this chapter, the term *program* is used in its traditional art-historical sense, as developed especially within the field of medieval art (e.g., von Simson 1988: 228). It refers to a complex of images and texts within a discrete architectural setting and the conceptual scheme that underlies this complex.

4. See Joyce 1992a. The net skirt may be compared with the Aztec net that is said to have been worn as the "festival dress" of the earth personified in female form (Ruiz de Alarcón, cited in Peterson 1993: 117).

5. See Schele and Freidel 1990: fig. 6:12; Schele and Miller 1986: fig. VI.7, pl. 111. Males wearing short net skirts also appear on the Palenque House D west piers c, d, and f (Maudslay 1889–1902, 4: pls. 35–37).

6. Joyce (1992a, 1996a) suggests that the Xok monster belt enclosing the net skirt symbolizes the waters that surround the earth in Maya cosmology.

7. See Freidel, Schele, and Parker 1993: fig. 4:29; El Zapote Stela 5 (Eggebrecht et al. 1993: 351); and Xultún Stela 24 (von Euw and Graham 1984: fig. 5:84).

8. The Maize God's floral associations also suggest a comparison with the mixed-gender Aztec deity Ometeotl, who lived in a house of flowers (Fox 1978: 299; León-Portilla 1963: 32; see also Joyce 1996a).

9. See Graham and von Euw 1975: 63; Miller 1974: fig. 2; Ruppert and Denison 1943: pl. 48; Schele and Miller 1986: fig. VII.2.

10. See Coe and Kerr 1997: 194, pl. 88; Graham and von Euw 1975: 17, 1978: 83; Robicsek and Hales 1981: 232, fig. 74.

11. It should be pointed out that the Maize God also has martial associations. On Copán Stela H, for example, the king's Maize God costume includes war banners worn in the headdress (see figure 10.1).

12. Examples of monuments identified glyphically as thrones include Zoomorph G, where the text refers to the monument with the T150 glyph, a logograph for "throne." Zoomorph P is referred to with the T593 glyph, which may be a logograph for *tz'am*, or "throne" (Schele and Looper 1996: 151, 155).

13. Freidel, Schele, and Parker (1993: 140, 433) discuss the symbolism of the three creation stones by triadic architectural design. For other interpretations of this architectural configuration, see Ashmore 1989, Freidel 1979, Hansen 1992, and Reese 1996.

14. These monuments include Lintels 13, 14, 15, 17, 24, 25, 38, 40, 43, 51, and 55 and a number of the Structure 33 stairs (see Tate 1992: figs. 68, 90, 93, 111, 148, 157, 159).

15. Nikolai Grube (personal communication, 1993) suggested that the *ne* syllable that precedes the portrait glyph of God K at Palenque represents the word *nen* (mirror).

16. Lounsbury (1980) designates the progenitor deity at Palenque as "GI senior" and later as "GI' [god one prime]" (Schele and Freidel 1990: 245). Lounsbury (1985) also identifies this figure as equivalent to Jun Junajpu in the *Popol Vuh*, while Taube (1985) associates the latter with the Classic "Tonsured Maize God." Freidel, Schele, and Parker (1993: 59–122) synthesize and elaborate on these interpretations in their discussion of the Maize God as "First Father."

17. This program is also discussed in Schele and Freidel 1990: fig. 5:12 and Looper 1992.

18. Also erected in front of Structure C-9, Stela 28 and Stela 31 closely follow the pattern of Stelae 29 and 30. They were dedicated as a pair in 721 C.E. and depict K'ahk Tiliw Chan Chahk and Lady Six Sky. Stelae 26 and 27 display no legible images.

19. Reese (1996: 185) first explicitly identified the triadic complex in Maya architecture as a spatial analog of the triadic parallel poetic structure.

20. Although the female character in these representations is commonly held to be the Moon Goddess (e.g., Schele and Miller 1986: 153), there is little evidence that this identification is correct, aside from her "licentious" behavior (Taube 1989b: 367; see also Thompson 1939).

21. Another example of cross-dressing in Classic Maya culture is the occasional wearing of feminine clothing such as *huipiles* by men for penitential rites, including bloodletting. See Miller 1986: 147; Ruppert, Thompson, and Proskouriakoff 1955: 63–64.

11

Representations of Women in Postclassic and Colonial Maya Literature and Art

GABRIELLE VAIL AND ANDREA STONE

Two related themes are examined in this chapter: the role of women in Late Postclassic Yucatec society (c. 1200–1520 C.E.) as documented in the literature and art and what these sources reveal about how women were conceptualized by the Maya. Several types of information are relevant to this inquiry, including ethnohistoric accounts written during the colonial period by the early explorers and Spanish friars and the hieroglyphic Maya codices. The first provides an outsider's (etic) perspective, in contrast to the emic perspective offered by the codices. It seems doubtful, however, that either source documents the realities of daily life from the female perspective, for the codices as well as the Spanish chronicles were presumably drafted by men.[1] Nevertheless, representations of women in both data sets provide a useful comparison and means to examine the social context of women in Postclassic Yucatán.

Of the perhaps hundreds of hieroglyphic manuscripts that were painted by the Postclassic Maya, only four are known to have survived. Three of them, known as the Dresden, Paris, and Madrid codices after the cities where they are currently housed, may have reached Europe during the colonial period, where they remained unexamined for several centuries. A fourth, the Grolier codex, was reportedly discovered in a cave in the Mexican state of Chiapas in the 1960s. All four codices are screen-fold manuscripts composed on paper made from the bark of the fig tree. Because of their histories, we lack information regarding their original proveniences, although they are generally attributed to the northern lowlands (i.e., the Yucatán Peninsula) on the basis of comparisons with the art style documented at sites in the region (Paxton 1986; Taube 1992: 1; Thompson 1972: 16).

The extant hieroglyphic manuscripts are concerned with the timing of various activities of a ritual and secular nature, as well as with astronomical phenomena. Information is presented through a combination of several different calendrical cycles, pictures, and glyphic captions. Our concern in this chapter is primarily with the 260-day sacred calendar or *tzolk'in,* which serves as the organizing principle for a series of almanacs found throughout the Maya codices. The *tzolk'in* operates in conjunction with the 365-day solar calendar known as the *haab* to create a repeating 52-year cycle.

Both the ethnohistoric sources and the codices portray women in a variety of everyday roles. This is true despite the fact the figures pictured in the codices represent deities rather than human actors. We argue that the roles and relationships depicted in these media portray an idealized view of societal roles and expectations and that the codices served as templates to guide both ritual and social behavior. Because they were very likely painted by men and used in ritual contexts dominated by male priests and participants, we further argue that the codical almanacs are framed within an androcentric bias that reflects the belief that females were the structural equivalent of males (in terms of a series of paired oppositions) but were not their equals in the social or religious sphere. By examining gender relations in the Maya codices, it is possible to grasp the ideological constructs underlying gender relationships in Postclassic Yucatecan society. Our analysis suggests that Maya women were broadly divided into two categories according to an age-based dichotomy: premenopausal women, whose sexuality was seen as a threat to men and in need of control, and grandmotherly figures associated with the security of the home.

Women in Maya Ideology and Art

The evaluation of women's roles in ancient Maya society must be tempered with the understanding that there are biases present even in the most "pristine" of primary sources. Neither the pictorial images nor the hieroglyphic texts crafted by the Maya are objective records of past social reality. The class and gender biases that infiltrate these representations are a by-product of the artist–audience relationship that narrows the social spectrum to the concerns of a select group. Classic Maya imagery, dating to c. 250–900 C.E., says little about the lives of the commoners because it is narrowly focused on the elite who commissioned artworks. Even the scribes were members of the nobility (Coe and Kerr 1997: 97; Reents-Budet 1994: 55). The Postclassic codices were intended for a different audience. Their focus is on rituals and daily life. Although deities occur in place of human actors, they engage in various activities that were intended to serve as models for human interaction and behavior.

From a gender perspective, a male frame of reference might be expected to underlie Classic representations, for artwork was generally commissioned by men, and the vast majority of pictorial artists and scribes were also male (Reents-Budet 1998; but see Coe and Kerr 1997: 99 for the identification of female scribes in the Classic corpus).[2] It could also be argued that the Classic script shares this androcentric frame of reference. For instance, the personal names of male protagonists did not need to be marked as masculine, because this was assumed, whereas female names were typically marked with a female head prefix, as first noted by Proskouriakoff (1961). Additionally, gender bias is suggested by the fact that certain titles, when applied to women, retain the male agentive particle *ah*; women scribes, for example, are referred to as *ah K'uh hun* and *ah tz'ib*, as are their male counterparts (Coe and Kerr 1997: 99).[3] The idea that written or pictorial representations have a gendered frame of reference, and that what lies outside it must be more explicitly labeled, is also relevant to the codices. It is generally thought that the codices were painted by the same divinatory priests who had the knowledge to use them. Ethnohistoric sources suggest that these priests, known as *ah k'in* in colonial Yucatán, were exclusively male (Love 1986: ch. 4).

The codical inscriptions differ from Classic ones in that both male and female deity names include a head form, which calls the notion of gender disparity into question. But the Classic and Postclassic data sets are not parallel because the Classic inscriptions contain the idiosyncratic names of historical figures, whereas the codices present a series of gods whose appellatives are almost invariably expressed by portrait glyphs or head forms. Pictorial representations in the codices could be viewed as presenting a male bias, for femaleness is more strongly marked. Many of the female figures in the codices have their breasts exposed (see, for example, figures 11.1c, 11.1d, 11.2e, 11.2f, 11.4d), a convention that was only rarely employed in other media representing women. Murals from the Late Postclassic site of Tulum, which are roughly contemporary with the codices, also portray goddesses, but all wear *huipiles* (Miller 1982: pls. 28, 37). Depicting women's breasts in the codices conveniently marked their sex and gender, while the masculine identity of the other gods could be assumed.

Codical goddesses also have two clearly marked hairstyles: piled up on top of the head, to denote a mature woman (e.g., figure 11.1b), or with a queue of hair trailing down the back, to denote a young woman (e.g., figures 11.2e, 11.2f). These hairstyles reveal a rigid stereotyping of the female personality, one, it could be argued, that reflects a male perspective of women (Stone 1990). On the other

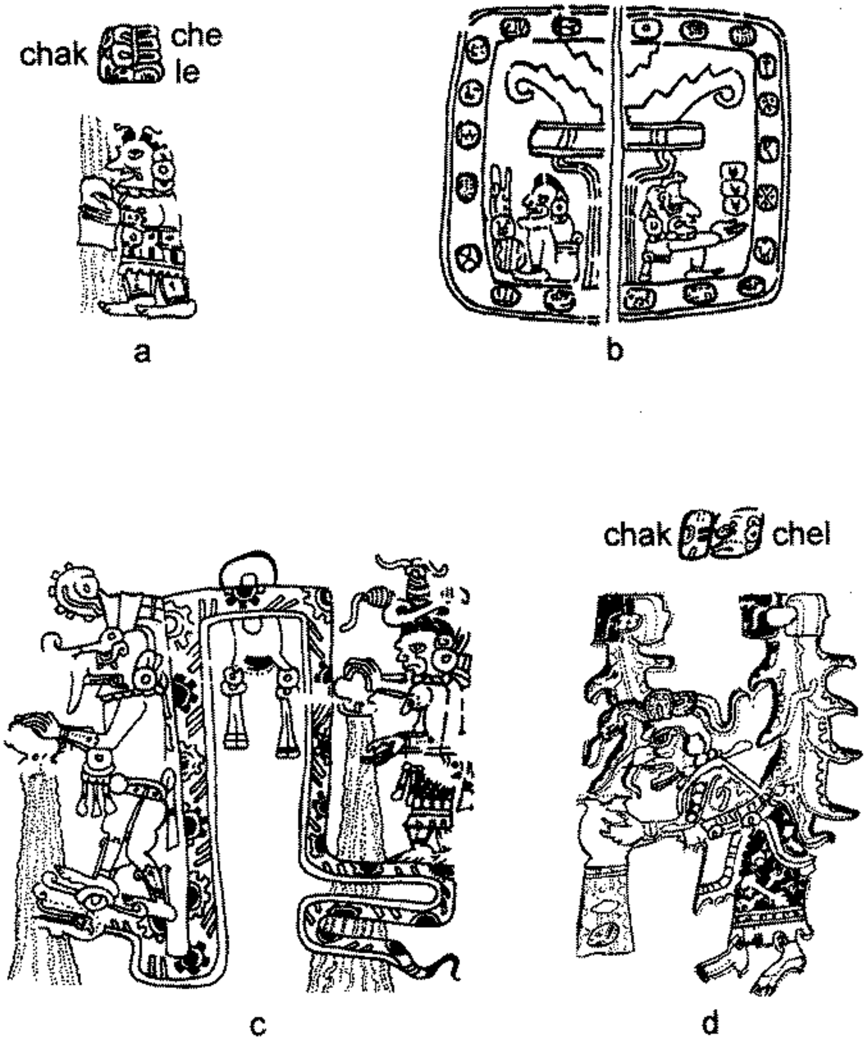


Figure 11.1. Chak Chel in the Dresden and Madrid codices (illustrations after Villacorta C. and Villacorta 1976: 158, 244, 284, 374, 376): (a) pouring water from an overturned vessel on Madrid 10b (this figure is named by a glyph that spells Chak Chel); (b) paired with the creator Itzamna on Madrid 75–76; (c) as a beneficent water goddess, pictured with Chaak, on Madrid 30a; and (d) in her bestial aspect as a world destroyer on Dresden 74.

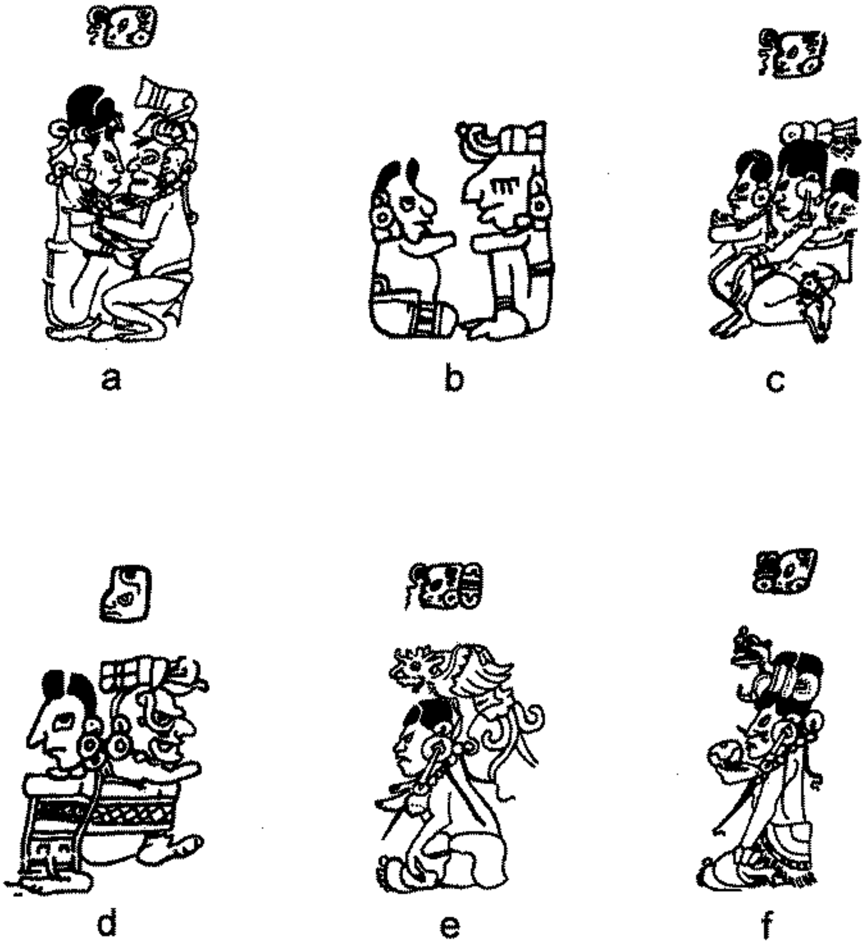


Figure 11.2. The young Goddess I, Ixik Kab, in the Dresden and Madrid codices (illustrations after Villacorta C. and Villacorta 1976: 42, 52, 54, 56, 412): (a) paired with God N in a scene picturing sexual union on Dresden 21c (her name glyph here and in [c] consists of a *kab* [earth] prefix attached to her portrait glyph; note that her portrait also contains an infixed *kab* sign); (b) shown as pregnant on Madrid 94b; (c) pictured in a marriage scene with a child on her back on Dresden 23c; (d) carrying Itzamna on Madrid 94d (here she is named with a portrait glyph without any affixes); (e) with a bird perched on her shoulder on Dresden 16c (her portrait glyph takes a *kab* prefix and a *ki* suffix, which complements the *ixik* [lady] reading of the portrait); and (f) with an offering on Dresden 22b (this figure has a glyph meaning *sak* [white] prefixed to her portrait glyph).

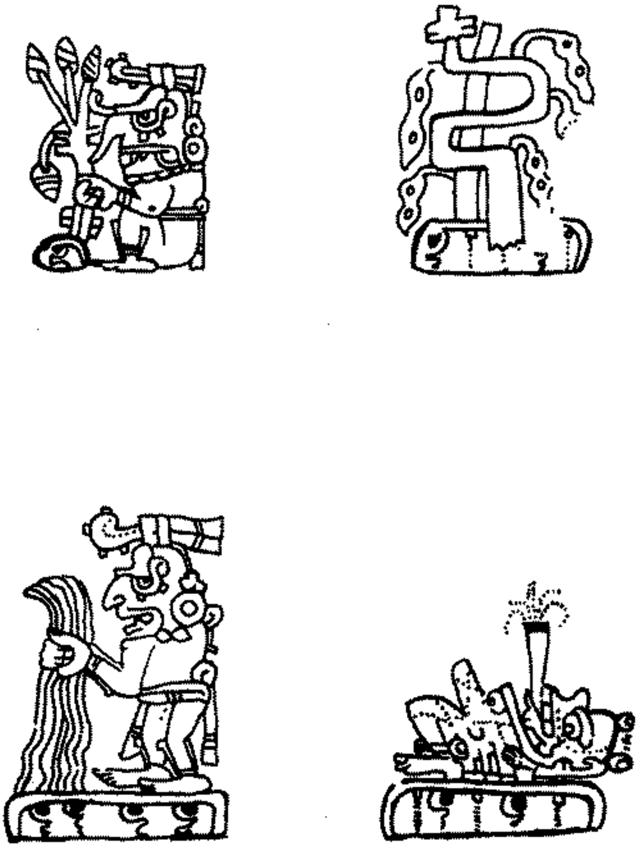


Figure 11.3. The *kab* element occurring in various iconographic contexts to represent the earth (illustrations after Villacorta C. and Villacorta 1976: 272, 274, 348, 382).

hand, male gods in the codices are more diverse; not only are they differentiated in terms of a large pantheon involving many different symbolic and functional domains, but they also wear more varied costumes and hairstyles and engage in many different activities. They are more prevalent numerically than female deities, constituting almost 95 percent of the deities portrayed in the Madrid codex. All of this provides evidence that the codices are framed by a male perspective. So while they remain an important source of information on women in Late Postclassic Yucatán, they do not speak for these women directly.

The Maya Goddesses: Ethnohistoric and Ethnographic Background

Unlike Classic period sculpture, in which the principal actors are represented in human form, the Maya codices are populated with deities. This section provides a discussion of the female pantheon documented in the ethnohistoric record as a means of better understanding representations of women in the Maya codices.

Maya goddesses receive relatively little mention in the ethnohistoric sources. Of those available, writings by Bishop Diego de Landa provide the most complete description of Yucatecan religion at the time of contact (in Tozzer 1941). The only female deity Landa discusses in detail is Ix Chel, who is described as the patron of childbirth and midwives. Women of childbearing age placed images of Ix Chel under their beds and prayed for her help and guidance (Tozzer 1941: 129). Women also made pilgrimages to her shrine on the island of Cozumel in order to petition her for special favors. Landa notes that Ix Chel also played a role as a goddess of medicine and divination (Tozzer 1941: 10 n45, 154). Other goddesses represented at pilgrimage shrines according to Landa included Ix Chekel (Chebel?) Yax, Ix Hunie, and Ix Hunieta (Tozzer 1941: 9–10). López de Cogolludo (1955 [1688], 4: ch. 8) discusses Ix Azal Uoh, who was the wife of the sun and the inventor of weaving, and Ix Chebel Yax, the daughter of Ix Azal Uoh and the patron of brocading. Colel Cab, literally "Mistress of the Earth," is mentioned in the story of creation in the *Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel* (Thompson 1970: 207). Barrera Vásquez and associates (1980: 333) suggest that this was one of the names given to Ix Chebel Yax in her role as mother earth. The same term *(kolel kab)* is also used in reference to the native honeybee by Yucatec speakers (Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980: 333; Bricker, Po'ot Yah, and Dzul de Po'ot 1998: 119), leading Bassie-Sweet (1991: 100) to identify the figure from the Chumayel as a "goddess of the beehive" or "goddess of honey."[4]

Ix Chel is commonly interpreted as a moon goddess, although Landa does not explicitly make this connection (see Thompson 1939: 133). Among the Quiché living in the Guatemalan highlands today, the Moon Goddess has two aspects: one relating to her role as the wife of the sun and the other as the goddess of brocade and embroidery (León 1945: 43). The moon and earth are closely linked among various highland Maya groups (e.g., Siegel 1941: 66), a connection that is also evident in the Classic period (Taube 1992: 68). The Lacandon of the Chiapas rain forest worship a goddess named Acna (the mother), who has several aspects, including one called Ix Chel who is associated with childbirth (Tozzer 1907: 95). Thompson (1939: 133) identifies both Acna and Ix Chel as moon deities, although this seems to be his own interpretation, for it is not mentioned by Tozzer (1907: 95).

The Codical Goddesses

The deities in the codices have been the subject of intensive investigation over the past century (for a summary of this research, see Taube 1992: 5–9; Vail 1996: 81–92). As a result, the names and attributes of many of these figures have been identified, and researchers have made substantial progress in establishing correspondences with deities documented in ethnographic and ethnohistoric sources on the Maya. Nevertheless, the codical deities are still commonly referred to by letter designations (God A, God B, etc.), a system developed by Paul Schellhas (1904) at a time when the hieroglyphic texts were largely undeciphered.

The codical goddesses are best understood in terms of an age-based dichotomy. We agree with Karl Taube's (1992: 64, 99) assessment that there are two main female deities: the aged Goddess O, who is explicitly named Chak Chel in the codices (corresponding to Ix Chel in the colonial literature; figure 11.1), and a young goddess (called Goddess I) whose name and functions have been variously identified (figure 11.2). Following the work of Thompson (1939), this youthful deity has been commonly described as a moon goddess (Ciaramella 1994; Hofling and O'Neil 1992; Milbrath 1995, 1996, 1999: 138–41; Schele and Grube 1997; Thompson 1950: 86, 1958, 1970: 241–49, 1972: 47–48). We believe, however, that her associations with fertility and the earth have been underemphasized in previous studies (Stone 1990: 5–6; Vail 1996: 278–82, 2000; but see Seler 1904: 50–52; Thompson 1939: 141).

The fact that Goddess I is named by a portrait glyph containing an infixed *kab* element (T171; figure 11.2), a symbol used in other contexts to represent the earth (figure 11.3), suggests that her primary association is with the earth rather than with the moon. We read her portrait glyph as Ixik Kab, Lady Earth, following Schele and Grube's (1997: 121–31) interpretation of the female head as *ixik*, as suggested by the occasional presence of a *ki* phonetic complement (see figure 11.2e and discussion in Stuart 1998: 386 n7). The different elements prefixed to her name glyph may refer to different aspects—T171 reinforcing the *kab* reading of the main sign (see figures 11.2a, 11.2c, 11.2e) and T58 *(sak)* perhaps suggesting a lunar association (see figure 11.2f).[5] The word *sak* means "white," which may refer to the whiteness of the moon, and is also the root of the Yucatec verb meaning "to weave."[6] Both aspects of Goddess I do, however, share the same portrait glyph (Ixik Kab), indicating that this deity was primarily an earth and fertility goddess, as we have proposed elsewhere (Stone 1990: 5–6; Vail 1996: 277–81, 2000). Her lunar associations seem to have been superimposed on her role as an earth deity, both serving to emphasize her fertile nature. Support for this interpretation stems from the fact that she is pictured in a number of scenes in both the Dresden and Madrid manuscripts relating to marriage and copulation (figures 11.2a, 11.2b, 11.2c). In one of these almanacs, she is shown to be pregnant (figure 11.2b), and in another she carries a child on her back (figure 11.2c).

The connection among fertility, the earth, and the moon is well documented in the ethnographic literature. The Mam of highland Guatemala, for example, link the earth, the moon, and maize, referring to the trinity as "Our Mother" (Siegel 1941: 66). Among the Quiché, the timing of both a woman's menstrual cycle and the planting of the maize crop is governed by the moon. The 260-day sacred calendar, or *tzolk'in*, is used to calculate the date of a child's birth as well as when to harvest the maize. Both are expected to occur 260 days from the date of conception or sowing, thereby falling on the same day name and number in the *tzolk'in* cycle as the conception/sowing itself (Earle and Snow 1985: 242–43; B. Tedlock 1985: 87).

Goddess I also seems to have an aged aspect, as suggested by the fact that the Ixik Kab appellative, modified by *sak* (white), occurs with an elderly deity as well as with the youthful version of Goddess I (figure 11.4). The two are commonly thought to represent young and old versions of the same figure. The latter is frequently pictured with a single tooth in the lower jaw and is also distinguished by her glyph, which is similar to that of the youthful Goddess I except that it contains a series of short, vertical lines intended to represent wrinkles. The two figures may also be distinguished fairly clearly in terms of activity spheres, suggesting that certain activities were related to age (see discussion below).

The aged version of Ixik Kab shares various roles and attributes with Chak Chel, who is also pictured as an old woman (figure 11.1). Both deities are shown weaving (compare figures 11.4a and 11.6a), as is a figure whose name suggests that she is a conflation of the two goddesses (figure 11.5). Milbrath (1999: 147) identifies this group of elderly weavers as representing the waning moon and further suggests that activities associated with weaving correlate with the dry season months of November through April.

In addition to being identified with weaving, Chak Chel plays a number of other roles in the Maya codices. She represents the female member of the creator couple, in which aspect she is either paired with Itzamna (figure 11.1b) or assumes his attributes (see figure 11.6); a beneficent water goddess who is frequently pictured with the rain god Chaak (figure 11.1c); and a world destroyer, shown with bestial attributes and death symbols (figure 11.1d). Taube (1992: 103, 1994: 657–58) identifies the beneficent aspect of Chak Chel as the aged female curer and diviner (Landa's Ix Chel), a role frequently undertaken by old women in Mesoamerica who also serve as midwives.

Chak Chel frequently wears a serpent headdress in both her life-giving and

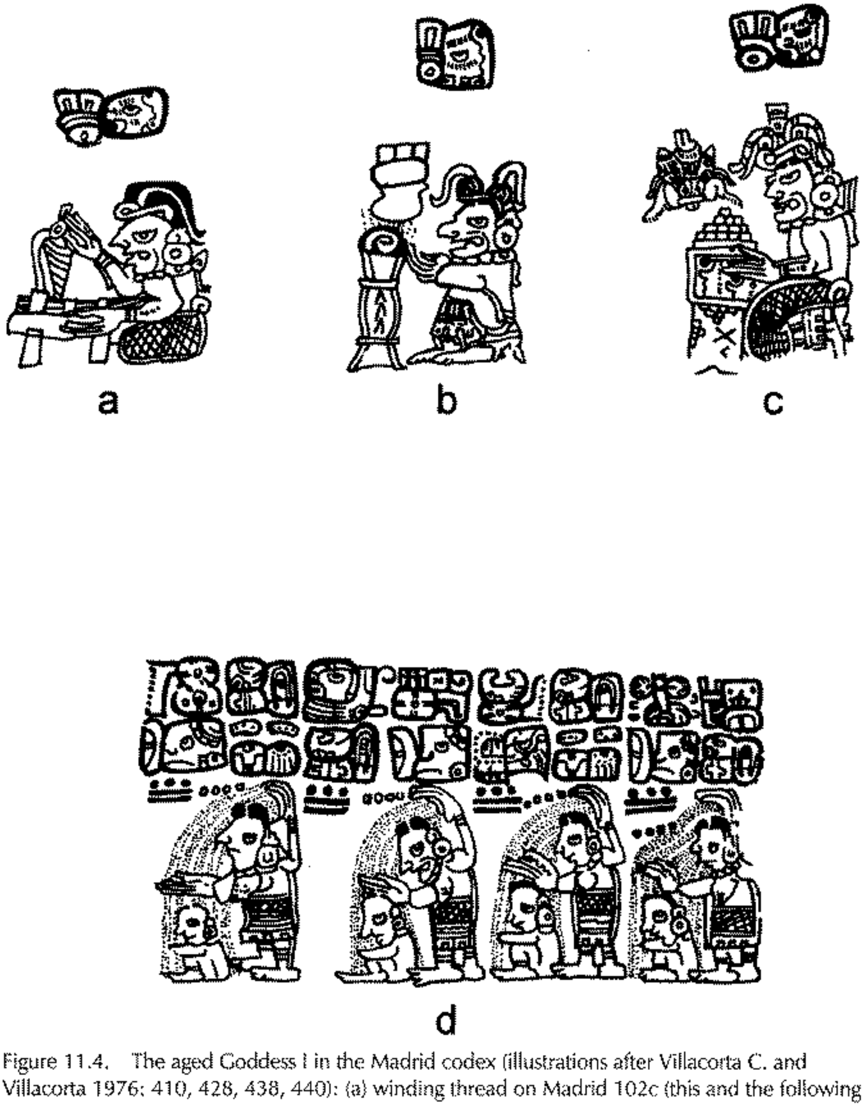


Figure 11.4. The aged Goddess I in the Madrid codex (illustrations after Villacorta C. and Villacorta 1976: 410, 428, 438, 440): (a) winding thread on Madrid 102c (this and the following two figures are named with the Sak Ixik Kab appellative); (b) presenting an offering in a beekeeper's ceremony on Madrid 107b; (c) extracting honey on Madrid 108c; and (d) performing a "baptism" on Madrid 93c, frame 2.

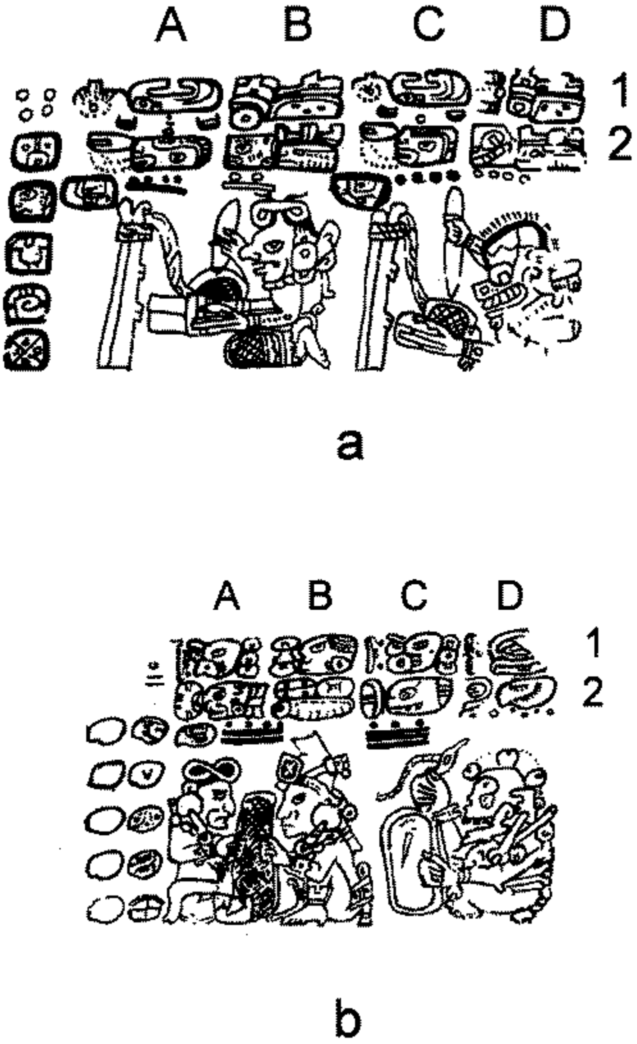


Figure 11.5. A hybrid weaving goddess who combines the names and attributes of Chak Chel and the aged Goddess I (Ixik Kab) in the Dresden and Madrid codices (illustrations after Villacorta C. and Villacorta 1976: 14, 428): (a) pictured weaving on Madrid 102d, frame 1 (she is named at B2 of the text with an appellative combining Ixik Kab's portrait glyph with the *chel* [rainbow] suffix; God A appears in frame 2, named with the Kimil [death] portrait glyph paired with the *chel* suffix); and (b) named as Chak Ixik Kab Che(l) on Dresden 2b (at A2), where she and the flower god are pictured sewing (the death god Kimil appears in frame 2 and is named in the text [at D1–C2] as the wife of *[yatan]* Kimil).

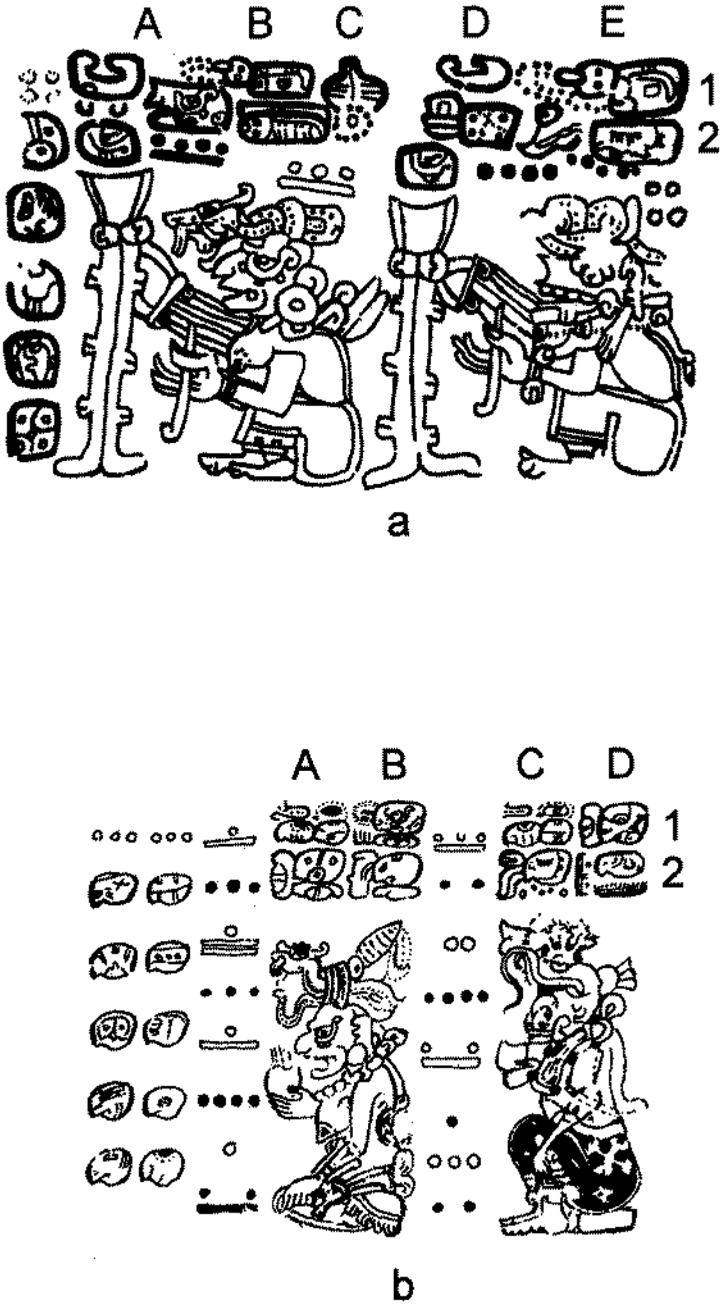


Figure 11.6. The blurring of gender boundaries: the female counterparts of Itzamna (represented by Chak Chel) and of the death god Kimil appear on (a) Madrid 79c and (b) Dresden 9c (illustrations after Villacorta C. and Villacorta 1976: 28, 382).

destructive aspects (e.g., figures 11.1d, 11.6a, 11.6b), an attribute that may be linked to rain, weaving, and the lunar crescent (Ciaramella 1994; Milbrath 1996, 1999: 143, 145; Stone 1990: 7, 14; Taube 1992: 101).[7] Both Ciaramella and Milbrath identify Chak Chel as a lunar deity, following Thompson (1950: 84). This fits with the belief, discussed previously, that Ix Chel represents the moon (Thompson 1939: 133). Milbrath (1999: 147) distinguishes between the human form of Chak Chel, which she identifies with the waning moon, and the bestial aspect, which can be linked to the new moon. Both figures are frequently associated with the imagery of pouring water (i.e., creating rain), a rainy season activity, which Milbrath contrasts with what she considers the dry season aspect of this deity, who is pictured weaving.

In addition to the links mentioned previously between Chak Chel and the aged Goddess I, Chak Chel and the youthful Goddess I (Ixik Kab) also share a feature in common—the serpent headdress, which is worn by Ixik Kab on several occasions in the Dresden codex (figure 11.2f). This may indicate that Ixik Kab is being linked with the moon or that the scenes in question occurred during the rainy season, but the serpent also has associations with fertility that may be relevant. Among the contemporary Atiteco Tzutujil of Guatemala, for example, the womb is visualized as a coiled snake (Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 184 n16). This fits well with our interpretation that this deity is foremost a goddess of fertility and fecundity.

Like the two aspects of Ixik Kab, Chak Chel also has associations with fertility and the earth. As Jo Ann Brisko (1994: 200) points out in her analysis of this figure, the act of pouring water from a jar may be seen as symbolic of woman's fertility. Additionally, Brisko interprets two scenes from the Madrid codex that show Chak Chel emitting water from her body (on pages 30b and 32b) as depicting the rush of amniotic fluid prior to giving birth. These associations are consonant with Landa's description of Ix Chel as the goddess of childbirth.

Women's Roles in Landa and the Codices

Unlike the inscriptions recorded on monumental sculpture during the Classic period, the codices seem to relate quite intimately to the concerns of the commoner population. Almanacs organized in terms of the 260-day sacred calendar picture various activities relating to everyday life, including hunting, trapping, planting, and tending bees, as well as the rituals that accompanied these activities (bloodletting, presenting offerings, burning incense, and so forth). Priests and "daykeepers" were responsible for the timing of both secular and ritual events, much as these cycles are governed by the *hmen* in Yucatec villages today.

Both ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources suggest that traditional lowland Maya society was and is characterized by a fairly well defined division of labor, with men's efforts focused on the milpa and women's on the care of their homes and children (Davis 1978; Farriss 1984; Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934; Tozzer 1907, 1941; Villa Rojas 1945; but see Robin, this volume, for a discussion of women's role in agricultural production). A recent study of lexical data from colonial period dictionaries indicates that men were primarily responsible for agriculture, fishing, hunting, beekeeping, and craft production (with the exception of making cloth), whereas women's responsibilities included raising children and animals, preparing food, spinning, and weaving (Clark and Houston 1998: 35, 37). This does not mean that there was no overlap in terms of male/female roles but, rather, that men simply were more commonly involved in one activity sphere and women were more commonly involved in the other. As a result, two distinct sets of religious specialists developed: the priests and daykeepers mentioned above and a class of female ritual practitioners, the curers and midwives, who assisted women during childbirth and throughout the life cycle (Tozzer 1941: 129 n598). Activities pertaining to both the home and the milpa are reflected in the colonial literature and the Postclassic codices. In the following sections, we review data from both sources and evaluate what they tell us about how women were conceptualized in Postclassic Yucatec culture.

Ethnohistoric Descriptions of Yucatec Women

Landa's account (Tozzer 1941), written in c. 1566, provides the fullest description of Maya women at the time of contact. He characterizes Yucatec women as great workers, as well as good managers and housekeepers, noting that they were responsible in large part for the support of their homes, the education of their children, and the payment of tribute.[8] In order to meet these obligations, they worked at night after completing their housework. Their responsibilities included weaving and spinning; raising fowl for consumption and exchange, as well as birds for their feathers; and buying and selling items at market. They generally married and had children at an early age (Tozzer 1941: 127–28).

As to their character, Landa describes them as witty (although they occasionally gossiped), prudent, polite, generous, and sociable. He found them to be proper in their relations with the opposite sex, taking care never to look at men other than their husbands and dancing only among themselves. Their one failing was that they occasionally became inebriated with their female guests. As Landa points out, men and women ate and celebrated separately from each other (Tozzer 1941: 128).

In terms of religious obligations, Landa characterizes Yucatec women as devout and pious, noting that they burned incense to their idols and offered them food and drink, as well as gifts of cloth or cotton (Tozzer 1941: 128). These devotions were evidently of a private nature, for Landa (Tozzer 1941: 128–29) later states that women were not allowed to attend ceremonies at the temple. One of the few exceptions involved a dance undertaken during the New Year's ceremonies in which old women played a key role (Tozzer 1941: 143, 145, 147, 152). In his commentary to Landa's manuscript, Tozzer (1941: 128 n596) suggests that women were excluded from religious observances because they were considered ceremonially impure, a practice that continues in many parts of the Maya area today.[9] Before participating in ritual events, men were required to abstain from certain foods as well as from having relations with their wives (Tozzer 1941: 107). Women's roles during ceremonial occasions involved preparing offerings of food and drink to be used during the festivals. According to Landa, Yucatec women never participated in ceremonial bloodletting (Tozzer 1941: 128).

In our opinion, Landa's portrayal of Yucatec women represents an idealized depiction of the lifestyle women were expected to adopt, filtered through the eyes of a colonial authority figure. How closely this matches the Postclassic or colonial experience is a question that cannot be answered definitively at this remove in time. However, it is possible to compare Landa's description with that offered by the scribes who drafted the Maya codices. By doing so, we are contrasting two different male perspectives of the female role: one (Landa's) representing that of an outsider and the second (the codical scribes') representing that of male specialists responsible for coordinating ritual activities within Maya culture.

Women's Roles as Portrayed in the Codices

Because the Maya codices served as a template for guiding both ritual and secular behavior (see Vail 1996: 46), they provide a unique environment for evaluating the various roles that women were expected to undertake in Late Postclassic Maya society. Together, the Dresden and Madrid codices contain over 120 representations of female figures, most of whom may be classified as deities. The Paris and Grolier codices, however, lack female figures entirely. In the following discussion, we focus on the Madrid codex because it appears to be the closest in time to Landa's period of residence in Yucatán.[10]

The Madrid codex contains approximately 1,200 separate illustrations, which may be correlated with specific dates in the 260-day sacred calendar. The majority involves one or several deity figures, who are engaged in various activities such as planting, hunting, tending bees, and making offerings. Female deities appear in sixty-one scenes, or approximately 5 percent of the total number.

The most common representation of women in the Madrid codex is as marriage or sexual partners (seen on fourteen separate occasions), a role played exclusively by the young goddess, Goddess I or Ixik Kab (figures 11.2a, 11.2b, 11.2c). This correlates particularly well with expectations arising from Landa, as his discussion focuses on women's domestic duties. Sexual union is also depicted in the Dresden codex; indeed, several scenes portray the sexual act quite explicitly (see figure 11.2a). In contemporary communities in the Maya highlands, women are expected to watch over their sexuality carefully so as not to jeopardize those around them. Both pregnant and menstruating women are considered extremely dangerous, pregnant women especially so because they can cause soul loss in others (Koski 1997: 6). With this in mind, we believe that one of the purposes of the series of almanacs that portray marriage and sexual union in the Dresden and Madrid codices may have been to guide or control women's conduct in sexual matters. Another theory, discussed in more detail below, involves the possibility that these almanacs may have functioned to help women time conception.

Other activities commonly performed by women in the Maya codices include spinning and weaving (figures 11.4a, 11.5a, 11.6a) and serving as the bearers both of burdens carried on the back (figure 11.2d) and of birds perched on the shoulders or head (figure 11.2e), which are commonly interpreted as auguries. Weaving is typically done by old women, whereas burdens and auguries are associated with young women. The two categories of items carried by the young Goddess I are clearly differentiated in the hieroglyphic texts as well as the iconography, the first being identified by the word *kuch* (burden) (Knorozov 1967: 91; Thompson 1972: 47) and the second being identified by the word *mut*, meaning either "bird" or "omen" (Fox and Justeson 1984: 33). In these almanacs, omens are expressed by different types of birds, whereas burdens are represented by male deities (including the gods of rain and death) or by glyphic elements signifying various objects such as maize and skulls. Each burden and augury is associated with particular days in the 260-day calendar (Thompson 1958).

We believe that almanacs picturing marriage or sexual union may be related in some way to the carrying of burdens and the presentation of auguries, for these three types of almanacs co-occur in both the Dresden and Madrid manuscripts. Scholars generally agree that the burden and omen almanacs represent divinatory instruments used to determine the fate or burden of specific days within the *tzolk'in* calendar (see Thompson 1958, 1972: 47–48). One possibility suggested by their placement and by the emphasis on women as protagonists is that these almanacs may have been intended to signify the fate or burden of a particular day chosen for marriage or corresponding to the birth of a child. Among contemporary highland Maya groups, the *tzolk'in* day of one's birth is believed to have a significant impact on one's character (Sharer 1994: 561–62; Tedlock 1982: ch. 5). In pre-Hispanic central Mexico and the Mixtec area, this belief gave rise to the practice of naming children according to the day name of their birth (Earle and Snow 1985: 243). In light of the importance attached to the *tzolk'in,* the parents of a child may have consulted a priest or daykeeper before planning a pregnancy. The marriage, omen, and burden almanacs under consideration, therefore, may have been used to help time a woman's conception so that her child would be born on an auspicious day in the sacred calendar.[11] This recalls the practice among the contemporary Quiché of using the *tzolk'in* to calculate the date of a child's birth, which is believed to occur 260 days following conception.

Linguistic evidence supports this interpretation. Among the Ch'orti' interviewed by Wisdom (1940: 602, 604), the word *kuch,* meaning "burden" or "load," is also used to refer to pregnancy (*kuch yar,* which describes the child *[yar]* as the burden), as well as to the unborn child *(kuhch).* This, then, suggests the possibility of a metaphorical link between the marriage and burden almanacs occurring in the Dresden and Madrid codices, the first type signifying sexual union and the second signifying the resulting pregnancy. The almanacs picturing birds perched on the head or shoulders of Ixik Kab may also be related, for, in addition to representing auguries, birds are thought to symbolize the souls of children in various Mesoamerican cultures (Hamann 1997: 163). The three types of almanacs, then, seemingly refer to procreation, pregnancy, and the birth of children (see also Johnson 1989). All three themes are represented explicitly in the codices (see figures 11.2a, 11.2b, 11.2c).

Spinning and weaving, two other female activities pictured in the codices, are also metaphorically linked to conception and childbirth in modern Maya communities (Ciaramella 1999: 47–48; Sullivan 1982; Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 176). According to Sullivan (1982: 14), both spinning and the thrusting movement of the batten during weaving symbolize the act of coitus. In this regard, it is interesting that aged women, rather than the youthful Ixik Kab, are most commonly portrayed as weavers in the Maya codices. This relates to the idea, discussed below, that elderly women are symbols of domesticity and even of fertility in Maya communities today (Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 174). Among the Atiteco of highland Guatemala, this role is epitomized by the aged grandmother divinity, who represents the weaver/thread maker. Atiteco metaphors relate weaving to the production of food (maize) and children (Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 176–77).

When a female activity such as weaving or sewing is pictured, male deities are generally not represented or they are replaced by female counterparts or feminized in some way. The weaving scene on Madrid 79c (figure 11.6a), for example, shows Itzamna's female counterpart in the first frame (represented by Chak Chel) and the female version of God A (the death god) in the second frame. Both wear skirts and snake headdresses. Chak Chel is named with a portrait glyph emphasizing her link to Itzamna (A2), followed by the word *chel* (B2), whereas the female death deity is named with God A's title, which includes the male agentive prefix *ah* (E2). The *ah* prefix is used in reference to females in several other instances in the Madrid codex as well (e.g., Madrid 94c–95c, frame 8, and Madrid 102b, frame 1), where Goddess I is named as *ah K'uh* (holy person or priest).

In another almanac that portrays weaving (figure 11.5a), God A is paired with an aged figure who represents a hybrid of Ixik Kab and Chak Chel. She is named by Ixik Kab's portrait glyph, which is followed by a *chel* suffix, meaning "rainbow." In the second frame, God A is named by the *Kimil* (death) appellative in conjunction with the *chel* compound used more commonly in reference to Chak Chel. Several scenes in the Dresden codex (e.g., Dresden 2b and 2c; see figure 11.5b) refer to the various male deities who are pictured sewing as "the wife of" *(yatan)* the male figures depicted (Schele and Grube 1997: 92–93).

The blurring of gender boundaries, as occurs in these examples, may be seen on various occasions in Maya art (Kocyba 1989; Stone 1990; see also Looper, this volume). A particularly compelling example from the codices occurs on Dresden 9c (figure 11.6b). Here, female deities are pictured in both frames, although the text names Itzamna at B1 and God A/Kimil at D1. The first figure may be Chak Chel, whereas the figure in the second frame represents a female version of God A, transformed from male to female by the addition of breasts, a queue of hair, and a skirt. This and the preceding examples offer striking illustrations of male-female duality in the Maya pantheon, suggesting that female gender signifiers in the codices not only identify biological females but also can function as feminizing attributes for male deities. Such attributes are frequently used to feminize male figures who engage in activities that are strongly linked to the female sphere. This is comparable, we believe, to the use of male signifiers (such as agentive *ah* in scribal titles) to identify women who assume what are typically male roles.

Thus far, our survey of the contexts in which goddesses appear in the codices indicates a clear separation between male and female spheres. Certain activities, such as agriculture, hunting, and the crafting of deity masks or images, were almost exclusively a male pursuit, whereas weaving and child rearing were the responsibility of women. These distinctions reflect the division of labor expected on the basis of the ethnographic and ethnohistoric evidence (but see Robin, this volume, for a different perspective). Yet, even in those arenas dominated by men in the codices, such as ritual activities, women had a small but significant role.

We have seen, for example, that some of the female deities in the Maya codices appear to have played a very powerful role in both Maya creation mythology and daily life, as illustrated by the dual aspects of Chak Chel, who represents both a beneficent and a malevolent water goddess (figures 11.1c, 11.1d), and by the aged creator goddess seen on Madrid 75–76 (figure 11.1b). It is significant, however, that these figures complement male deities (i.e., Itzamna as creator and Chaak as the god of rain), specifically in contexts relating to fertility and procreation. This type of duality or complementarity occurs throughout Maya literature (see, e.g., the *Popol Vuh*) and is vital in Mesoamerican thought. For example, the Atiteco Maya conceptualize males and females "as aspects of one original unit" and believe that it is only possible to function in the world as part of a male–female pair (Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 173).

Both young and old females are pictured making offerings on various occasions in the Dresden and Madrid codices (figures 11.2f, 11.6b). Additionally, the aged version of the earth deity Ixik Kab engages in several activities that have elsewhere been linked to males. In one almanac, she participates in a ritual dedicated to the gods of the bees (figure 11.4b); in another, she is seen extracting honey from a beehive (figure 11.4c). These examples are particularly interesting in light of Landa's statement that women were strictly prohibited from participating in most public rituals, although he does mention that this injunction did not apply as rigidly to old women (Tozzer 1941: 128–29). The scenes from the codices involving honey may relate to the role of older women as midwives in light of ethnographic reports indicating that honey is burned beneath the hammocks of women during childbirth (Redfield and Villa Rojas 1934: 357). If this practice occurred pre-Hispanically, it might provide a rationale for the appearance of female figures in what is otherwise a male context.

The privileged position of old women in the codices parallels ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts of Maya women in which the elderly are granted certain prerogatives denied to younger women. An example illustrated in both the codices and the ethnohistoric literature involves the role of older women in the ritual described as baptism by the chroniclers (Tozzer 1941: 102–06). Landa notes that "they placed over them [the children] as godparents an old woman for the girls and a man for the boys, who should have charge of them" (in Tozzer 1941: 103). The boys were attended by a principal selected by their fathers, who anointed them on their foreheads and faces with sacred water. Landa does not mention whether girls were similarly anointed. In another context, however, he discusses an initiation ceremony that has many parallels to the baptism ritual.

During the ceremony, little girls were attended by an old woman clothed in a dress of feathers, known as Ix Mol, or "the conductress" (Tozzer 1941: 159). This figure may be pictured in the almanac on Madrid 92c–93c sprinkling water over a second, smaller figure (figure 11.4d); however, only one of the deities in question can definitively be recognized as elderly (frame 2).

Young women also occasionally assume male prerogatives, as on page 40c of the Madrid codex, where a figure resembling Ixik Kab pierces her tongue with a stingray spine, and on page 95a, where the same figure lets blood from her ear in the company of three male deities. These scenes clearly contradict Landa's statement that women did not engage in bloodletting, as do Lintels 24 and 25 from Classic period Yaxchilán. In another context (Madrid 52c), the young earth goddess and Itzamna participate in a ceremony that involved offerings of cacao and honey. Ixik Kab is also pictured in another almanac with ritual associations, on Madrid 89d–90d, although her role here remains unclear. The iconography of the adjacent frames suggests that this almanac may pertain to a Period-Ending ceremony such as *Wayeb,* which marked the five "nameless days" at the end of the solar year.

Female Stereotypes in Maya Culture

The codices, we believe, serve both as a template to guide ritual behavior and as an expression of underlying societal beliefs as filtered through the perspective of male priests and scribes. In this section, we consider several stereotypical female personae who are represented in both the codices and ethnographic sources.

Women's Sexuality as a Threat to Men

Prohibitions against Maya women of childbearing age participating in the full spectrum of ritual life suggest a less than equal relationship between the sexes. Colonial and ethnographic accounts confirm that premenopausal women were restricted from entering sacred places, such as temples or caves, or even attending certain religious functions (Stone 1988: 76–77). A woman's presence in such places could be harmful to herself and to others. Among the modern Tzotzil, for example, pregnant and menstruating women are considered extremely dangerous to those around them (Koski 1997: 6; see discussion above).

These social controls form part of a larger pattern in which female sexuality is seen as a threat to men and in need of control. This fear manifests itself in certain stereotypical female personae. One is a young woman, often married, who is viewed as wanton and unfaithful. Thompson's (1930) collection of Kekchi-Mopan tales portrays this stereotypical female in the guise of the promiscuous young Moon Goddess. In one myth she cheats on her consort the Sun with his own brother Venus, but then she runs off with a king vulture (Thompson 1930: 126–32). The publicly acknowledged anxiety that men feel regarding their young wives is also the focus of an entire genre of Maya folktales that revolve around the theme of a man who loses his wife and then struggles to recover her (Taggart 1990: 211).

The apprehension experienced by young married men may stem from marital tensions caused by virilocal residence patterns that are common in the Maya area (Gross and Kendall 1983: 204–05). As a result of this practice, a woman is forced to leave her secure natal home to take up residence with her husband's family. Conflicts often arise with her new mother-in-law, a person with whom she competes for her husband's loyalty and economic assistance. In particularly stressful situations a woman may abandon her husband altogether and return home. As Schultze Jena notes of the Quiché, "The paternal house is an asylum for the woman, even after marriage" (1946: 4). These kinds of tensions are reported in modern Yucatán (Hanks 1990: 98; Redfield 1941: 192), as well as elsewhere in the Maya area (Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 174). Whether or not postmarital residence patterns help to explain this stereotyping of young women, it is one view that sees women as sexually aggressive and unpredictable in their loyalties. Such a stereotype may be present in the codices in the persona of the young Goddess I who is portrayed as the "wife," *atan,* of many different partners (see figures 11.2a, 11.2b, 11.2c). It is possible, as we discussed previously, that one of the purposes of the series of almanacs that deal with marriage and related concerns may have been to control the conduct and sexual power of young women.

Another threatening stereotype of women's sexuality is transgressive, not in the sense of youthful promiscuity but, rather, stemming from the rejection of the values of the nurturing female role. Unlike the young and sexually attractive woman portrayed in the codices, this female figure is frightening in appearance and is usually endowed with bestial characteristics. She is the destructive side of the regenerative cycle of the earth. In pre-Hispanic Maya art she is often laden with death symbols, such as bones and eyeballs. In the codices she can be identified as the bestial aspect of Chak Chel, shown with her serpent head tie, clawed hands and feet, and costume of bones (figure 11.1d). Chak Chel in this guise bears a resemblance to the modern Tzotzil demon known as the "Charcoal Cruncher," a dead burnt thing, who is cold like a corpse and eats charcoal. Although she is female, she is sexually anomalous and is unable to successfully bear or raise children (Koski 1997: 5).

A comparison can also be made with the Aztec goddess Cihuacoatl (Snake Woman), who shares an association with serpents and skeletalized body parts with the bestial aspect of Chak Chel (Klein 1988a: figs. 3c, 12, 14a–14b; Thompson 1950: 83). Although she is an earth and fertility goddess, Cihuacoatl has a plethora of dangerous associations: with death, human sacrifice, sorcery, and warfare (Klein 1988a). In certain colonial texts she is described as an abandoned mistress or unloved wife and is pictured with wild hair and eyes full of ashes. Cihuacoatl is also related to the *tzitzimime*, demons who embody the souls of barren women and descend to earth during eclipses to devour people (Klein 1988a: 249). Chak Chel, Cihuacoatl, and the *tzitzimime* may spring from the same female stereotype, which is based on the violent and destructive powers of women who stray from the maternal calling deemed appropriate by society.

Domesticity and Its Association with Old Women

Whereas conjugal relationships in their early years may be tenuous, a man's consanguineal relationships with women are far more secure. Indeed, it is the old woman, the grandmother or matriarch, who symbolizes the security of hearth and home and even fertility. Noting this among the Atiteco Tzutujil, Tarn and Prechtel remark, "The ideal of domesticity is often linked with the old woman, secure in knowledge, craft, childbearing, and residence" (1986: 174). In this region of Lake Atitlán, Guatemala, the hearth itself is imbued with the symbolism of the grandmother. The most important of the three hearthstones is known as the grandmother stone in the village of San Pedro la Laguna (Paul 1974: 284).

Colonial and ethnographic accounts show that, among the Maya, old women were highly esteemed and had special prerogatives in the ritual arena (Stone 1988: 76). For instance, Landa mentions that of women, only old women could dance publicly on ritual occasions or enter the temple (Tozzer 1941: 143, 145, 147, 152). In highland Chiapas, elderly Tzotzil women, called *hchik pometik*, serve in a special ritual capacity to the *mayordomos* of Zinacantán (Vogt 1969: 266). Tzeltal women of Tzo'ontahal assume their first role in public ceremonies only after reaching menopause (Nash 1970: 271). Among the Mopan Maya of San Antonio, Belize, old women conduct a ceremony called *tzen witz*, "the feeding of the mountain," designed to "guard the community from sickness and wild beasts" (Thompson 1930: 62).

Grandmother-like divinities are attested in ethnographic sources on the Maya. The moon is addressed as "grandmother" among various highland Maya groups, including the Achi (Neuenswander 1981) and the Tzutujil (Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 174). Thompson (1930: 58) notes that the Mopan of San Antonio have female variants of the Mam earth lords, called *chich* or "grandmother." Furthermore, in Maya lore, it is often an old woman who has supernatural encounters (e.g., Fought 1972: 453).

The grandmother divinity emerges in an especially interesting guise among the Atiteco Tzutujil (Tarn and Prechtel 1986). Tzutujil goddesses are all variants of "María" (the Virgin Mary), and their various aspects are structured in terms of an age-based dichotomy. The wife of the principal male deity (the Mam) is called María Castellana and is characterized by a young and old aspect. The young wife is described as "promiscuous, loquacious, noisy, outrageous, flirty, playful, and detests work" (Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 177). She is clearly a manifestation of the stereotypical youthful woman who is wanton and unreliable. The aged grandmother wife, Francisca Batz'bal, on the other hand, is a formidable figure associated with spinning, weaving, and witchcraft. She is feared as a sorceress and is linked symbolically with death. In her creative aspect she is associated with the origins of maize (Tarn and Prechtel 1986: 176). This character appears to combine elements of the revered grandmother figure, associated with domesticity, motherhood, and fertility, and the bestial woman who is both witch and slayer of men. In this respect Francisca Batz'bal recalls the codical Chak Chel, who also combines aspects of the domestic grandmother figure (figure 11.1b) and the bestial world destroyer (figure 11.1d). Chak Chel wears the spindle device and twisted yarn in her hair, evidence of her association with weaving and domesticity (see figure 11.1c). She is also seen pouring water (figures 11.1a, 11.1c, 11.1d), which alludes to her role as world nourisher and destroyer. Her association with death is prominently displayed in her bone-laden costume (figure 11.1d).

Given the similarities between Francisca Batz'bal and Chak Chel, it is interesting to note an aspect of iconography that they share—a headdress in the form of a real or symbolic serpent.[12] Tarn and Prechtel remark, "Rings around the moon are associated with ophidian rainbows (related symbolically to the grandmother's headband)" (1986: 176). This association between the serpent and the rainbow is also seen among the Tzutujil of San Pedro la Laguna, who envision the rainbow as "a colored serpent with a human head" (Paul 1974: 294).

Chak Chel's name includes a reference to the rainbow (the word *chel* means "rainbow" in Yucatec), and one of her primary attributes is a serpent worn as a headdress (see figure 11.1d), recalling the allusion to the lunar halo as both an ophidian rainbow and the grandmother's headband among the Atiteco Tzutujil. Based on this, it could be argued that the serpent headdress worn by Chak Chel is a lunar rainbow attribute and may allude to the *chel* portion of her name. That the young Ixik Kab also occasionally wears the serpent headband (see figure 11.2f) points to an underlying unity of all the codical goddesses. Like the figures in the "María system" of the Atiteco Tzutujil described above, the female deities in the codices may be viewed in terms of an age-based dichotomy. Chak Chel and the aged version of Ixik Kab are connected by their ties to the weaving complex, which is occasionally realized in the form of a hybridized version of the two (figure 11.5). The youthful and aged variants of Ixik Kab share an underlying association with fertility and the earth. Finally, Chak Chel and the young Ixik Kab are linked by the fact that they both sometimes wear a serpent headdress, which has associations with rain, fertility, and the moon.

Conclusions

Comparing how the female personality is portrayed in representational media as diverse as pre-Hispanic pictorial/hieroglyphic books and a postconquest chronicle written by an outsider to the culture he was describing is an informative exercise. We have attempted to show that the codices are invaluable sources for revealing ideological constructs associated with women's work, women's ritual behavior, and women's domain of power in the broadest symbolic sense; these constructs can be seen in the overarching themes of fertility, creation, and destruction that are clearly linked in the depictions of the codical goddesses. While we accept the information gleaned from the codices as accurately reflecting the prevailing attitudes of the Postclassic Maya elite, we also argue that this information is filtered through a gendered lens. The male perspective is especially evident in the unequal attention given to male gods and masculine activities as compared with female deities and activities. Male gods are finely discriminated into a large pantheon in which distinct entities occupy a wide range of symbolic and functional niches. On the other hand, goddesses fall into a fairly limited number of types and themes, largely discriminated by age. This age-based dichotomy—youthful versus elderly—reveals that women's life cycle as spouse and progenitor lies at the heart of Maya female symbolism. The most powerful female divinity in the codices is the old goddess Chak Chel, who epitomizes the duality of women's power, which can be channeled for both creative and destructive ends. The young earth goddess Ixik Kab is primarily a deity of fertility and fecundity who expresses some of the cultural ideas associated with young women, especially those concerning the need to control and direct their sexuality.

Landa's treatise provides information about women that can be tested and often corroborated through other forms of evidence. For example, his observation about the prerogatives of old women in ceremonial activities is something that we know to be true generally in Maya culture. However, his characterization of young women as exceedingly modest and retiring, and of women in general as having virtually no role in Maya ritual life, seems to stem from his own expectations and, perhaps, from the impact of colonialism on the culture of northern Yucatán. Fortunately, issues of gender in Maya culture can be approached from multiple directions—from a perspective as distant as the Classic period to one as recent as the ethnographic present. With careful scrutiny of this wealth of material, it is possible to reach sound conclusions about women's actual and ideological roles in Maya society.

Notes

1. Ethnohistoric and ethnographic sources suggest that the role of scribes and priests was traditionally held by males (Love 1986: ch. 4; Tozzer 1941: 111–13). Coe and Kerr (1997: 99), however, call attention to several female scribes illustrated on Classic period vessels, who are named with titles incorporating the male agentive particle *ah* (discussed below). The fact that these figures were given male titles suggests that these offices were considered the prerogative of men (but see Clark and Houston 1998: 34 regarding the use of the pronoun *ah* to refer to both male and female craft specialists). We know of no data indicating that the priests and "daykeepers" responsible for compiling and interpreting the Postclassic codices were ever women, however.

2. Many pottery vessels include a statement in the glyphic text indicating who commissioned and who painted the vessel. We can determine whether these individuals were male or female from the corresponding name phrases.

3. In a recent study of craft specialization, Clark and Houston (1998: 34) note that all titles for craft specialists listed in colonial Yucatec dictionaries carry the *ah* particle, whether they were used to refer to men or women.

4. We retain the original spellings of deity names given in colonial and ethnographic sources. Transcriptions from the codices are spelled according to the conventions of Barrera Vásquez and associates (1980), except that we use /tz/ and /tz'/ in place of /ts/ and /ts'/.

5. Various scholars interpret the T171 prefix as logographic *ub* (moon), based on its similarity to the symbol for *u* illustrated in Landa's alphabet (Tozzer 1941: 170; see discussion in Taube 1992: 64). We propose that T171 was intended to have the reading *kab* (earth) (Stone 1990: 5; Vail 1996: 279, 2000) because this symbol is used to represent the earth in the day sign Kaban, in T526 (logographic *kab*), and in numerous iconographic contexts throughout the codices (figure 11.3). This reading is further supported by two examples of substitution, one involving T171 as a prefix and the other involving its use as an infix (Stone 1990: 19 n3; Vail 1996: 281). In the first example, which occurs on Dresden 62a, T1026 is prefixed with a compound consisting of T671:501 and is followed by the expression *chel* (T145:612). We believe that T671 was intended to have the iconic value *k'ab* (hand) in this context (given the presence of the *ba* suffix), rather than representing phonetic *chi*. This suggests that the scribe was making a pun by substituting the word *k'ab* (hand) for *kab* (earth). Likewise, at A1 on Dresden 21b, a hand again substitutes for T171 in Goddess I's appellative. In this example, however, it takes the place of the infix rather than the prefix.

6. For discussions about the relationship between weaving and the moon, see Ciaramella 1994 and Milbrath 1996, 1999: 145.

7. Milbrath (1999: 145) suggests a dichotomy between the serpent headdress, which she associates with the rainy season, and a headdress formed of a cotton coil, which is linked to

weaving. She interprets the spinning and weaving of cotton thread as a dry season activity (see also Milbrath 1996: 388–89).

8. One of the most common tribute items in Postclassic times was cotton cloth, a product prepared by women (Clark and Houston 1998: 41).

9. Several recent analyses of women's roles in ceremonial contexts suggest that women were excluded from communal ceremonies and rituals, not because they were considered impure but because women of childbearing age were believed to be repositories of power and therefore potentially dangerous or disruptive to the ceremony being performed (e.g., Koski 1997). Other authors (Joyce 1992b: 67–68, 1996a) argue that men and women played complementary roles in ceremonials and that the role of women in preparing ritual food offerings was as important as the task of implementing the ceremonies undertaken by the male members of the community.

10. The age and provenience of the Madrid codex are currently under debate. It has traditionally been attributed to Late Postclassic Yucatán (Thompson 1950: 26, 1972: 16; Taube 1992: 1, 4), although a recent analysis suggests the possibility of a seventeenth-century date and a provenience in the Tayasal region of the Petén (Coe and Kerr 1997: 181; see also Thompson 1950: 26). This interpretation, although widely publicized, has not been generally accepted by researchers who focus on the codices (see Graff and Vail 2001 for a critical discussion of the evidence).

11. We would like to thank Traci Ardren (personal communication, 2000) for suggesting this possibility.

12. The association of an aged goddess with a serpent headband has antecedents in Classic Maya art. It occurs in pictorial ceramics, for example, on Side 1 of the Birth Vase (Taube 1994) and on a cylindrical vase illustrated by Reents-Budet (1994: fig. 2.27b). In both instances, the serpent headdress is worn by an old goddess characterized by jaguar ears.

Encountering Maya Women

12

WENDY ASHMORE

The aim of this volume is to bring Maya women of centuries long past into the light of the present day, to give them greater voice and substance as individuals and groups than they have traditionally held in scholarly inquiry. In consequence, the book is about ancient Maya women primarily. Although concerned less directly or pervasively about ancient Maya society, women more generally, or gender and feminist theory, the volume necessarily treats all of the latter. This distinction of goals is important to recognize that the authors of these essays hold diverse theoretical perspectives, from which they address a wide range of topical domains. As a result, through the authors' consideration of new data as well as their reconsideration of established bodies of evidence, we encounter ancient Maya women here with new clarity and focus—even as we are brought to acknowledge greater subtlety, variation, and complexity in their lives, actions, and identities.

The conjunctive approach in Maya archaeology is notably apparent in these essays, whereby information and inference are drawn from multiple bodies of data and multiple analytic perspectives. The goal, of course, is not only discovering convergent, mutually consistent lines of evidence but also recognizing possible inconsistencies and contradictions among evidence sets, to see what new thinking these can suggest. The result here is not consensus but, rather, a healthy set of heterogeneous views. For one thing, while authors collectively highlight what seem to be long-term and widely shared continuities in Maya culture, belief, and social order, they also remind us explicitly of the need for caution and critical reassessment of all resources in each interpretive case. This very creation of scholarly space, allowing for differing assessments of the resources and for different interpretive stances, invites and encourages dialogue. The diverse views presented here chart some valuable avenues along which we may encounter ancient Maya women, at times spotting women we find familiar and at other times identifying new acquaintances.

In this chapter, I comment on some of the issues and questions raised in exploring these avenues. Rather than chapter-specific reviews, I examine themes that cut across chapters. Specifically, I consider several dimensions of variation and constancy in Maya women's lives and then review two enduring characterizations of Maya women and Maya womanhood.

Sources and Their Reliability

To document variation and constancy requires assessing the data sources available. In studying the ancient Maya, scholars are fortunate to have a rich array of resources on which to base interpretations. Simply listing the principal, established categories of resources hints at that richness: ethnography, ethnohistory, archaeology, bioarchaeology, linguistics, epigraphy, and iconography. Authors in this volume draw productively on all of these resources, with appropriately differing emphases in each essay. At the same time, of course, none of these sources is either comprehensive or flawless. Continuing source critiques, however, allow us to productively acknowledge constraints, such as the limited subject range of surviving Maya codices, and to see beyond such interpretive blinders as the prevailingly male standpoint of both Classic and colonial records.

For example, the ethnographic record is extremely rich and varied, touching on communities and regions across the Maya world. Strong arguments have been made for continuities between beliefs and customs today and those in ancient times (e.g., Carlsen and Prechtel 1991; D. Tedlock 1985; Vogt 1971 [1964]). Change is just as clearly evident in the circumstances of Maya lives, even as the resilience of Maya responses to challenge point to time-honored strategies of living, by women as well as men (e.g., Farriss 1984; Green 1999; Warren 1998). As several authors make clear, however, we need to be very clear not to extend arguments for constancy unduly, beyond where evidence for it lies (compare cautions from, for example, Kubler 1962; Lekson 1989). As we know well, analogy is central to archaeological study, and the "Direct Historical Approach" has proven invaluable in cases in which it can be shown to be appropriate and is used critically (e.g., Marcus and Flannery 1994, 1996). In studying past lives, however, we have misled ourselves more than once, uncritically extending to ancient situations models from modern ones, including systems of subsistence (i.e., the "myth of the milpa"; e.g., Hammond 1978) and settlement (i.e., vacant ceremonial center models; e.g., Becker 1979), when subsequent inquiry documented a very different situation in the past. The evidence on ancient Maya women's lives is materially subtler than is that for subsistence production or settlement patterns, and it is arguably, therefore, even more in need of close critical examination.

Indeed, archaeological evidence on ancient agricultural production illustrates well the subtleties required for recognizing and understanding women's material legacies. In this volume, both Robin and Neff discuss gendered division of labor in Maya farming, with specific application to data from the Xunantunich area. Although Maya agriculture is customarily identified as men's work, these two authors make strong arguments for more complex labor allocation characterizing actual practice in modern times. They caution against taking normative work roles as describing the range of what women, men, and children do. They do not thereby discard ethnographic accounts, arguing only for their closer and more critical scrutiny as analogues. Robin and Neff offer complementary insights on structure and fluidity in ancient division of labor. Robin's analyses of ancient agrarian households and Neff's of tools found in agricultural terraces converge in highlighting the difficulty—and, more often, the inadvisability—of linking particular spaces and implements exclusively with either women or men. Division of labor by gender was not absent from Maya farming, but evidence of its ancient implementation is not attested unambiguously. In short, although women's lives are attested in the archaeological record, the record is subtle, and its interpretation is not reducible to prescriptive norms (cf. Gero 1991; Kent 1998; Levy 1999; Watson and Kennedy 1991).

To take but one other example, consider the undeniable wealth of ethnohistoric materials. The corpus includes both descriptions penned by early Spanish observers and, despite Spaniards' concerted attempts to destroy "heathen" native documents, an invaluable set of surviving native records. Scholars could always wish for more, of course, and particularly on a range of topics beyond those actually treated. But most important for this volume is the male gaze—and the male tenor of voice—that dominates the records we have. Even when seeming to extol women's roles and qualities, the voices in these records do not speak directly for women or girls (cf. Kehoe 1999). As Josserand, Vail, and Stone point out, it is women who are the "marked case" in images and text; otherwise the actor or subject is understood to be male (much as in English diction, until the most recent decades!). An important goal of this volume is the restoration of ancient Maya women's presence, and of these same women's metaphorical voices, in the study of their lives (cf. Conkey and Gero 1991, 1997).

The foregoing arguments simply reinforce points made more fully by authors in this volume, as well as others elsewhere. Although the points raised are far from new, and there may come a time when such recall is no longer needed, we have not reached that juncture yet.

Variability in Gender Roles and Identities

Perhaps the single most pervasive theme in this volume is recognizing variation. Such recognition has several foci. One concerns distinguishing ideals of Maya womanhood as compared with the actual practice of being a woman. Another is the issue of fluctuation in ideals and practice through time, whether the time frame is the lifespan of a single female or the development of customs and beliefs over many centuries. Then there is variation among women of different class and social standings or of supernatural as compared with worldly realms. We must also consider variability in gender—whether the ancient Maya identified two, three, or more genders and how these relate to one another in time and context. Most potently, we need to examine intersections of the foregoing distinctions and, in so doing, the multidimensionality of Maya women's lives.

The characterization of Maya women has often been rendered as essences of Maya womanhood, particularly as expressed metaphorically in the roles and behavior of the Moon Goddess or of the Goddess Ix Chel (to whom I return below). Women are alternately grandmothers and harlots, nurturing and destructive. They are viewed fundamentally as complements to the lovers, husbands, sons, brothers, and fathers in their lives, and both women and men are cast as embodying firmly bounded conceptual and social categories. While feminist and other social theory argues strongly against essentializing in scholarly inquiry (e.g., Brumfiel 1992; Meskell 1999; Pyburn 1999), it remains appropriate nonetheless to recognize cultural statements of ideals and to recognize them as precisely that—idealizations expressed by the people we are interested in understanding. As multiple authors in this volume argue, Classic and colonial texts and images often describe what (men say) the ideal woman should be or should do. Archaeological, iconographic, and bioarchaeological data, however, evince a wider range of actual roles and behavior, practices often diverging from the stated ideals.

The question now is not whether ideals and practice differed but, rather, how, when, and under what circumstances they differed—and what the social implications were, for the lives of women and others. Gendered division of labor is one important arena in which ideal and practice intersect. The question here is not simply one of who did what but also one of what the time and social ramifications of fixed or flexible task allocations were. Julia Hendon's (1996) discussion of the social implications of gendered (and other) division of domestic labor is instructive in this regard, as are treatments of particular ranges of task allotments by multiple authors in this volume.

How roles and behaviors fluctuated through time is also a recurrent theme in this volume. For example, all sources link Maya women to weaving and food preparation, and Maya girls today are introduced early to the techniques, paraphernalia, and meanings of food and textile production (Hendrickson 1995). But even these, as well as other tasks, can vary with age, as in grandmothers' service as midwives. From Vail and Stone's analysis, weaving is linked in the codices with older more often than younger goddesses (i.e., ideally, for women). Indeed, from codices and ethnohistoric documents, the same authors conclude that, overall, "Maya women were broadly divided into two categories according to an age-based dichotomy: pre-menopausal women [seen as threatening] . . . and grandmotherly figures associated with the security of the home" (this volume). As the same authors acknowledge, however, older women could also be dangerous because of their relation to witchcraft (see also Ayala Falcón, this volume). And in thinking about labor and women's lives, it is important to keep in mind that, for the ancient Maya as for other groups, task allotment could sort conventionally along age, gender, class, or other lines yet remain flexible as daily, seasonal, or other situations warranted (Graham 1991; Hendon 1996, 1997; Kent 1998, 1999; Rice 1991; Robin 1999).

With respect to longer spans, across many generations, there is growing challenge to modern and colonial inventories of Maya women's roles and activities as adequately reflecting ancient lives. Vail and Stone, for example, cite Landa's omission of women as shedding blood (or his silence on the matter; Tozzer 1941: 141), going on to contrast that omission with vivid Classic depictions of women's engagement in autosacrifice. As already noted, the matter of gendered division of labor in agriculture is being subject to new scrutiny (e.g., Neff, this volume; Robin, this volume), and questions have been raised about women's possible roles in ceramic production and other spheres customarily thought to have been men's work in antiquity (e.g., Ardren, this volume; Graham 1991; Neff, this volume; Rice 1991; Tate 1999; Vail and Stone, this volume). Even the elite male-dominated profession of painting Classic polychrome pottery seems to have admitted at least some women (Clarkson 1978; Closs 1992: 12, 15, 20; Reents-Budet 1994: 48). But just as we used to think that milpa agriculture was the primordial and universal method of cultivation among the Maya, so we need perpetually to reexamine the nature and bases of our inferences about other aspects of Maya life.

In a different manner, mortuary offerings are often thought to reflect the social identities of the deceased in life. Burials of ancient Maya women and men are commonly described in terms of gender-linked grave goods. Indistinctness of gender (and other) patterning in distribution of grave good categories may indicate lesser access to resources, but as Pamela Geller has suggested for the Preclassic burial populace of Cuello (2000), it may also indicate that gender identities were less consistently or firmly fixed with respect to roles and activities, especially among commoners (cf. Joyce 1999). And distinct patterns may indicate ideals as much as or more than practice (see below).

The foregoing arguments, of course, beg explicit consideration of how roles and tasks vary with other aspects of social identity and covary with gender. Certainly, class is a critical factor, as is the distinction between worldly and supernatural beings. Examining class first, a number of the authors call attention to the class associations of the different forms of evidence. As Josserand and others remind us, Classic imagery and texts deal largely with royalty, nobles, and their retinues, not the lives of commoners. Ethnohistoric, ethnographic, and codical sources range more widely in social referent, as does archaeology. Still, interpretation of ancient Maya women's lives traditionally has drawn heavily on records concerning the Classic elite or Classic and later deities for shaping our use of ethnographic analogues. Even with the solid establishment of settlement and household archaeologies and their "democratizing" effects on the study of social continua (Rathje 1983; Sabloff and Ashmore 2001), commoners, and especially commoner women, have still been studied far less than elites, both in their own right and for what their material legacies can tell us about class-based differences in ancient lives (Ashmore, Yaeger, and Robin n.d.; Brumfiel 1991; Robin 1999; Yaeger 2000; see also Gillespie and Joyce 1997; Hendon 1996, 1997; Joyce 1993; Joyce and Claassen 1997). If the material traces of women's lives are generally subtle relative to other categories of evidence, the traces of commoner women are subtler yet. Several chapters in this volume contribute to rectifying that imbalance for Maya society (see also Robin 1999; Sweely 1998, 1999).

It is considering the supernatural realm that takes us both to one intersection of the previously described kinds of variation and to the blurring of gender categories. For example, Vail and Stone's conclusion about an age dichotomy of womanly traits stems from analysis of deities in the codices and women in ethnohistoric accounts. As often recognized, female deities are commonly cited as being and having been the models for idealized Maya womanhood. At the same time, scholars continue to delve into the multiplicity of female deities, of their identifying characteristics, and of their roles as supernatural ideals of womanhood. Vail and Stone agree with others who identify two main female deities: Goddesses I and O (the latter distinguished as Chak Chel in the codices and Ix Chel in colonial writings; see Bassie-Sweet 1991; Milbrath 1999; Schellhas 1904; Taube 1992; Thompson 1939, 1972).

But then gender lines begin to blur. Deities, in particular the moon and maize deities, embody both female and male aspects (Looper, this volume; Milbrath 1999; Taube 1992). They may be clothed and adorned with accoutrements of either female or male gender and sometimes of both. Worldly rulers, as well, don the garb of alternative or ambiguous gender identities, as noted famously for Copán's Stela H. Citing this stela as well as other instances, Rosemary Joyce (1992b, 1996a) has argued repeatedly that Maya and other cultural concepts of gender are constructed through performance, in which costume is a crucial medium for conveying gender identity (see Asturias de Barrios 1991; Bruhns 1988; Butler 1990, 1993; Claassen 1992; Joyce 1998). She further contends that the ambiguities and alternatives in gender signals suggest ancient Maya recognition of more than two genders, in a "fluid mixed-gender realm" (Looper, this volume).

In this volume, Looper uses similar performance- and discourse-based arguments to propose recognition of a third gender specifically, and to support the proposition, he adduces a rich array of Maya and cross-cultural evidence. Although he focuses on the maize and moon deities, Looper's arguments go beyond them and beyond additional genders and gender blurring to argue for the fluidity of Maya roles and identities more generally: that is, rulers dressed as deities became the deity, and complementary female–male (mother–father) pairs became beings of a distinct gender—neither "female" nor "male" exclusively but both and something different at the same time. The inferred fusion and expansion of genders are particularly important for suggesting that the oft-cited complementarity of Maya women and men, female and male, resulted in a distinct and additional androgynous persona that, at least in some contexts, holds higher ritual and spiritual status than either of the genders we usually recognize. Through both blurring and merging gender categories, individual deities and humans we have identified traditionally as either female or male assume rights and responsibilities customarily reserved for those of contrasting genders. At present, it remains less clear whether this possible gender range extended to commoner echelons among the ancient Maya or was exclusively an ideal of royal, noble, and supernatural ranks; despite Looper's appropriately cautious caveats about the range of evidence, comparisons with other Native American societies suggest that social standing likely may not have limited such identities.

Even as the authors in this volume present evidence of greater diversity in ancient Maya women's lives—through time, across social class, between the worldly and the supernatural—they also reminded us of apparent constancies, or near constancies, in what it has meant to be a Maya woman. And just as we must break through uncritical essentializing, so must we guard against setting in motion an intellectual pendulum that underrates or denies what constancies may obtain.

Enduring Characterizations

I touch here on what seem to me two principal, enduring themes in characterizing ancient Maya women's lives, discussing the implications of each and of their conjunction. One theme is women's complementarity with men, in domestic and public—especially political—spheres. This highlights gendered division of labor, in ideals and in practice. The second theme is Maya women's association with weaving. Other themes one could cite include women's association with particular animals, especially deer and serpents. Newer inquiries also merit further examination, such as Ardren's intriguing compendium of information about women's health risks.

Complementarity

It has become commonplace to describe women and men as complementary in Maya society, ancient and modern. In domestic settings, Maya women and men are paired in social, economic, ritual, and biological reproduction, in both ideal and practice. As Ardren phrases it, "The ideology produced by [Classic period sculptural] images stresses that no man or woman can be complete without the other, with 'man' and 'woman' defined more by actions than by biology" (this volume). Equivalent complementarity is cited for public and supernatural realms, in which the Classic period emergence of gender hierarchy also seems more apparent (Hammond 1999; Haviland 1997). What have changed interpretively are our views of the variability in what complemenarity means: we reconsider the fixity as versus flexibility in divisions of labor (and other contributions to the commonweal) and consider the possible merging of complements to yield a distinctive and even superordinate third gender. As noted earlier, the process of critical rethinking of traditional distinctions has proceeded further for Maya women of royal or noble classes, although—as already cited—scholars in this volume and elsewhere have begun a reevaluation of the subtler traces of commoner women.

For ancient Maya royalty, public depictions of kings and their queens or consorts have long been recognized, including their juxtaposition in pairs (e.g., Marcus 1976, 1987; Proskouriakoff 1960, 1961, 1963, 1964, 1993; Robin 2000; Schele and Freidel 1990; Tate 1987). Royal marriages are widely acknowledged as a potent means of political alliance, in the Maya world as elsewhere (Marcus 1976; Molloy and Rathje 1974; Schele and Mathews 1991; cf. Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946). Women, as wives, sisters, and mothers, were the political glue of dynastic stability, between and within lines of succession (Ardren, this volume; Bell, this volume; Josserand, this volume; Krochock, this volume; Schele and Freidel 1990; cf. Gillespie 1989). Sometimes they moved to cement alliances, and sometimes they received marriage partners from afar (Bell, this volume; Kidder, Jennings, and Shook 1946). Critically examining old and new material and textual evidence, however, we have been forced in recent years to reconsider the range of roles that ancient royal women actually played—from powerless pawns, to place-holding regents, to far more active warriors, political agents, provocateurs, and even rulers in their own right (e.g., Freidel and Schele 1997; Hewitt 1999; Marcus 1976: 156–79; Martin and Grube 2000).

Just as scholars of other ancient traditions have plausibly reinstated ancient women to royal authority (e.g., Nelson 1993, 1997; Vogel n.d.), so Mayanists have accorded individual ancient women more potent roles in their time. In this volume, Ardren sketches a lively scenario of loyalty and betrayal for the two murdered women of Yaxuna's Early Classic royal family (see also Suhler and Freidel 1998). Bell (this volume; Bell et al. 1999, 2000) documents the sumptuous and stately grandeur marking the interment of the woman at the crux of Copán's fifth-century dynastic founding—and then the reverence accorded her remains by subsequent generations. In both cases, the important historical roles these women clearly played are belied by textual silence as to even their existence, an imbalance echoed centuries later in the recorded evidence from Chichén Itzá. In the latter case, Krochock eloquently describes the texts as muting by faint allusion the voices of women whom she sees as "among the most politically significant individuals" (this volume) of this politically pivotal, cosmopolitan, and faction-ridden Maya city of Terminal Classic times. Ayala Falcón, too, identifies women playing key roles in royal legitimacy at Toniná but, in contrast, describes dramatic imagery that publicly assigns women and female deities strikingly prominent roles in war.

In other situations, too, we may identify—and may have reason to reevaluate—complementarity and hierarchy between women and men or among female, male, and perhaps other genders. Symbolically, women and men may well have marked positions in a social hierarchy at the same time as they complemented each other. The hierarchical ranking of the genders was not necessarily simple, uniform, or fixed. Looper's discussion of a possibly superordinate third gender is certainly pertinent here. In addition to the evidence he cites, the woman and man interred in Burial XLII-5 at Copán may be individuals whose genders counted for more than their lives or mutual social rank. The pair has been interpreted as embodying supernatural agents of resurrection, and they may have been sacrificed for interment together, to honor the long-deceased thirteenth Copanec king, Waxaklajuun Ub'aah K'awil, or 18 Rabbit (Ashmore 1991; Carrelli 1990). What mattered in that interment was plausibly the combination of two genders, or perhaps the joint materialization of a third gender in the manner Looper describes, as an expression of ancestry or resurrection.

Even reckoning with solely two genders, Pyburn reminds us that "women may have egalitarian beginnings, but must lose out when authority becomes institutionalized. But how can we possibly know these claims are true unless we search for the answer with archaeological data? Cross-cultural comparisons between cultures recorded by people unaware of their own biasses [*sic*] or of cultures deeply involved in and affected by the world system are not enough" (1999: 193). As acknowledged earlier, men commissioned most of the texts and material imagery that have come down to us from pre-Columbian and colonial times. In light of this, as well as in a departure from essentialist models, Pyburn urges reconsidering many things, including at least some hierarchized pairings of gender symbolism: "female spinners are comparable to warriors, not warriors to spinners; and shields do not symbolize spindle whorls, but the reverse" (1999: 193). Important in this regard is Ayala Falcón's discussion of Toniná imagery as parting dramatically from more customary Classic depictions of gender roles and associating women and Goddess O with explicitly military activities.

Breaking from customary thinking in a different manner, Gillespie and Joyce argue for the gendering of each Maya "house" in its entirety, the "house" being, in Lévi-Strauss's usage, the "enduring social unit that acquires and maintains an estate through descent and marriage ties" (Gillespie and Joyce 1997: 191; cf. Gillespie 2000; Joyce 2000b). The same authors argue that, for the Classic and at least some modern Maya, wife-providing houses are gendered female and are considered ritually superior. "Hypergamy" (whereby a woman brings higher social standing to the union than her husband does) has been inferred frequently for the Classic Maya, as well as other peoples in Mesoamerica and beyond (e.g., Marcus and Flannery 1996); Gillespie and Joyce contend that such hypergamy holds for houses within commoner as well as elite Maya classes.

Acknowledging that gender is socially constructed and that whole houses may be considered gendered, we must recognize nonetheless the social role of Maya women's biological capacity to bear children. The relative standing of royal cowives may have been socially contested more often than is attested historically, particularly in relation to the political prospects of their offspring. The well-known Yaxchilán case of Lady Xoc and her cowives may be just a hint of more rampant politicking. Such activity is well known among royalty and nobles in other cultures: recall, for example, the storied actions of Eleanor of Aquitaine and her four sons in determining which son would inherit the throne of England's Henry II. One wonders about other Maya instances for which texts and imagery are less clear than those at Yaxchilán—perhaps most provocatively in this volume, at Toniná or Chichén Itzá. While we are given to understand that the competition for power was among the women's sons, brothers, or uncles, the behavior of the women themselves is less clear. And the role of childbearer apparently could be recalled to a woman's profound detriment. At Yaxuna, the jewel-bedecked young woman interred with the ceramic figurine, La Muñeca, was not only dismembered, she was also mocked in death for the gendered and political roles she was to have played in life. As Ardren reminds us, the young woman's death tableau conveys a complex message of gender, kinship, and political conflict: "ancestral as opposed to exclusively reproductive power . . . seems to convey the domination of a new lineage after the deliberate termination of the princess's potential to assume a new level of authority within her kin group" (this volume). Unlike intruders at Copán or Chichén Itzá, those who usurped power at Yaxuna declined to marry into local royalty, choosing instead to obliterate the line.

Associations of wifely roles and motherhood are usually construed more positively, of course. Certainly the founding queen of Copán's dynasty was revered long after her death, as presumably she had been during her long life. Even when dynastic fortunes shifted dramatically, royal women could be accorded material evidence of special esteem, as with the woman in Tikal's Burial 162, arguably the individual nicknamed "Woman of Tikal" or "Lady of Tikal" (Coggins 1975; Harrison 1999: 95–98; Haviland 1981; Martin and Grube 2000: 38–39; cf. Josserand, this volume). Although she was accorded neither extensive nor elaborate textual or pictorial recognition for her childhood role as queen, Martin and Grube describe "her once shadowy reign" as having been "both substantial and politically complex" (2000: 38). "Lady of Tikal" was a daughter of Jaguar Paw Skull (Chak Tok Ich'aak II), and if she is indeed the individual in Burial 162, perhaps it was her political place, in a dynastic line seeking to assert continuity and stability in the face of repeated challenge and upheaval, that resulted in her association with a new and relatively lavish "dower house" and in her tomb-like interment at death (Haviland 1981). Again, it was likely less her reproductive capacity than the ancestral power and political legitimacy afforded to her "consort or guardian"—the king celebrated on Stela 25 and perhaps the individual entombed near her, in Burial 160—that yielded such material recognition (Coggins 1975; Haviland 1981: 106; Martin and Grube 2000: 39).

Among commoner families as well, of course, women were central to family and domestic life. The activities that plausibly filled their days turn attention to one of the other prime characterizations of essential Maya womanhood, weaving.

Weaving

Although multiple activities pervade Maya women's idealized identities, including "household care, child care, food production, the raising of small animals, [and] gardening" (Ardren, this volume; Tozzer 1941), weaving is an activity, and weaver is a role, discussed at length in the literature. Weaving is commonly associated not only with Maya women but with women cross-culturally (e.g., Barber 1994; but see also Bruhns 1991). Spinning is likewise seen as a woman's activity, though one shared more easily with children and others. In examining these associations, a rich array of sources has been examined for the Maya and Mesoamerica, from sculpture, figurines, spindle whorls, and other pre-Columbian material evidence to codical and ethnohistoric documents and ethnographic accounts (McCafferty and McCafferty 1991).

Weaving, as a woman's activity, is often linked metaphorically to procreation and childbirth (e.g., Sullivan 1982; Vail and Stone, this volume). It is also interpreted as a metaphor for creating and re-creating the cosmos (e.g., Klein 1988b). Designs woven into ancient and modern *huipiles* are read as icons of the natural and supernatural world, marking the wearer as well as the maker with supernaturally sanctioned authority (e.g., Green 1999; Morris 1985, 1986; Tedlock and Tedlock 1985). Tedlock and Tedlock discuss Quiché Maya weaving as one of a suite of expressive arts whose creation or enactment situates Quiché people within a well-ordered universe. In this manner, weaving is linked in expressive style and content with "music, . . . housebuilding, and horticulture, and join[s] the domains of language and technology" (Tedlock and Tedlock 1985: 142; B. Tedlock 1985). They draw explicit parallels in expression and meaning across media, as in the following description:

> The Popol Vuh passage about the measuring of the skyearth can also be read as a metaphor for weaving technology. Before weaving begins, warp threads are measured off by being strung around vertical pegs *(che')* that stand at intervals on the horizontal plank of a winding frame. . . . The backstrap loom is constructed of sticks *(che')* and ropes *(c'a'm)*, and the width of the textile is kept even by measuring it off against a tenter stick. . . . The textile itself, like the skyearth, the milpa, and the house, has four sides and four corners. The backstrap loom, unlike the European treadle loom, permits selvages on all four sides, since the warp threads pass continuously back and forth between one loom bar and the other without being cut. . . . Further, it should be noted that the process of weaving *(-quem-)*, as distinct from plaiting, netting, or lacing (all *-jitz'o-*), involves the intersection of two distinct systems of threads, just as the measuring out of the skyearth involves two distinct systems of solar movements. (1985: 128)

The important explicit point here is the linkage of weaving and of textiles to the means by which the cosmos and the order and continuity of social life are ritually and materially reproduced. As important is the implicit point that the agents of such reproduction vary, such that women (i.e., as weavers) are on a par with men (i.e., as creators of milpa space) and with the primordial gods of creation. Moreover, as several authors in this volume remind us, Maya gender ideology portrays women and men as complementary, in ways defined more by actions than by physical characteristics (see Joyce 1996a). A gendered division of labor is codified in prescriptions for domestic life and in the interpretation of its commonly encountered material products. Although women and men may contribute to the others' activities in daily practice, they nonetheless hold distinctive ideal roles in this modern Quiché context, each as designated creators, of cloth and of cornfields (see Vogt 1976: 20).

The apparent persistence of at least some specific textile motifs across the centuries, since Classic times, bespeaks their social and symbolic potency as means of expression (Josserand, this volume; Morris 1985, 1986). Moreover, their transmission across generations of women weavers denotes the consistency of women's relations, to the extent that disruption in the fullness of those relations is expressed materially in the cloth (cf. Deetz 1965). Among modern Maya weavers, not only do textiles reflect the social milieu by incorporating European elements (Tedlock and Tedlock 1985: 142), the cloth also echoes upheavals in the social fabric. Human suffering of recent decades in the Guatemalan highlands is expressed most terribly in torture and death. It is reflected visibly but more quietly in the disruption of girls' learning to weave, in a breakdown in the transmission of technology, design, and motifs to new generations, as daughters and their widowed mothers must redirect their energies more fully to household support in the modern market economy (Green 1999). Brumfiel (1991) makes broadly parallel arguments for involuntary change in women's lives and production, ensuing from demands of the expanding Aztec Empire. Although we have not yet recognized evidence of such upheaval among Classic Maya weavers specifically, the material diagnostics of weaving nonetheless yield intriguing clues about the roles of that craft in women's lives.

Spindle whorls are material correlates of spinning and are commonly taken indirectly as indexes of weaving and of women's activities (e.g., Hendon 1997; McCafferty and McCafferty 1991). Because of the uniquely large concentration of thirty-one whorls at Las Monjas, Krochock identifies that building complex as "a primary residence for some of the more important women" at Chichén Itzá, a residence argued on other grounds to have been a "founder's house" in which the foreign-born Itzá gained legitimacy through marriage to women of the local ruling house (this volume). And absent traces of looms or other direct indexes of weaving, Beaudry-Corbett and McCafferty look to the distribution of spindle whorls, sherd disks, and needles as diagnostic of particular kinds of localized thread or cloth production, finding evidence for part-time production specialization by women in late-sixth-century Cerén.

Bell describes objects in Copán's Margarita Tomb as emphasizing the identity of the deceased as "a woman, a mother, and a weaver." The inferred weaving paraphernalia include worked bone and jade needles, tabbed jade and shell rings that may have been loom weights, and a "long, green-stained bone spatula that could have served as a bobbin or heddle" (Bell, this volume). Noting that the sheer number of these objects seems "far more than could have been used by a single woman at a given time" and that they seem to occur in discrete bundles (see also Bell et al. 2000: fig. 2), Bell proposes that the items may have been brought to the tomb over an extended period, by reverent visitors, "possibly women . . . placing small weaving tool kits within the chamber" (this volume). Moreover, Bell suggests that the weaving "tool kits" constituted but one set of components in an overall assemblage identifying the deceased with the Moon Goddess, in her role as "wife to the sun, mother, grandmother, weaver, and patroness of childbirth, healing, and divination" (this volume). Considered together, Copán's Margarita Tomb and Hunal Tomb assemblages suggest to Bell a deliberate conflation of the human royal pair with the moon and sun and with First Mother and First Father—an allusion both to their complementary gender roles and to their roles as creators, in this case, of a royal dynasty.

The role of weaver is central to this insightful interpretation of the queen's burial goods, and, just as important, weaving is recognized as only one of a set of ideal or prescriptive roles, for queens, goddesses, and women in general. The fact that the moon is sometimes identified as male (e.g., Schele and Miller 1986; Taube 1992; Vail and Stone, this volume), or that male deities may be depicted weaving (e.g., Vail and Stone, this volume: fig. 11.5a), does not undermine the interpretation. On the contrary, these observations reinforce discussion of third or alternative genders among at least the Late Classic and Postclassic Maya and of the blurred boundaries of gender identities and gender roles more broadly (Looper, this volume; Vail and Stone, this volume; compare the gender and role ambiguity of remains in Monte Albán Tomb 7 as well [see McCafferty and McCafferty 1994]). Indeed, despite their generally later dates, the seeming "exceptions" to gender associations are all the more provocative in regard to Bell's larger inference for fifth-century symbolism, for they seem consistent with interpreting the deceased royal pair as complements, as moon/sun, woman/man, and First Mother/First Father, and thereby as potentially constituting jointly a merged creative gender superordinate in power and efficacy to either of the other two.

Turning to an analogy with the Tedlocks' discussion of the modern Quiché, perhaps the paired Copanec founders embody key expressive media through which the cosmos as well as social, biological, and dynastic orders were reproduced. And in particular, for the aged woman in the Margarita Tomb, because it is the older aspects of Goddesses I and O that are linked more strongly with weaving and, as midwives, facilitating childbirth, this revered woman would have reached a human state commensurate with the idealized attributes of the aged divine genetrix—the grandmother of hearth, home, and stability. Moreover, while the aged widow's divining skills are perhaps cited in the mirrors left with her, it is the pacific and creative aspects of the aged widow, as weaver, that appear to have been celebrated emphatically in the repeated visits to her tomb.

How does ideal relate to practice here? No other information is available on this Copanec queen, but other royal and noble women do figure in text, pictorial, and material records elsewhere in the ancient Maya world, and they are not portrayed as weavers in public imagery. Consider, in this regard, Joyce's inferences about "the conflict between Classic Maya monumental and small-scale images of gender. The recognition of women's production recorded in small-scale images may reflect greater status of women in nonruling elite residential groups as a result of their labor" (1996a: 189). Joyce discusses at length the systematic devaluation of women's production among the royalty and nobility of state- and class-ordered societies, comparing Classic Maya evidence with class- and context-divergent imagery, ideology, and practice in Aztec and other cultures (e.g., Brumfiel 1996; Gailey 1987; Weiner 1989). Clearly, according to publicly materialized portrayals, individual status for a royal Maya woman related more to political and ritual aspects of her identity than to her skills in domestic production. Evidence from Las Monjas at Chichén Itzá has been interpreted to suggest that noble or royal women (or their attendants?) were, indeed, weavers. The information from royal women's interments at both Copán and Yaxuna, however, reminds us of the interpretive ambiguity of mortuary goods and their potential interpretive heterogeneity within a mortuary assemblage. Individual items or sets may indicate activities pursued in life or, alternatively, may indicate more idealized roles and identities conferred on the dead, as both Bell and Ardren suggest here (Ashmore 1991; Carrelli 1990; Geller 2000; Joyce 1999; Meskell 1999).

Turning more fully from ideals to practice, Beaudry-Corbett and McCafferty document some of the variation in spinning among households of the late-sixth-century agrarian Cerén village. Although the limitations of even that extraordinary sample combine with the currently preliminary nature of analysis to urge caution in interpreting local division of labor and its implications, the tentative implications of the findings are provocative. Beaudry-Corbett and McCafferty allude to the task and scheduling requirements for spinning different kinds of fiber (cotton versus maguey) as well as the distribution of production materials, both fiber-plant remains and processing implements. From Cerén's snapshot-like mapping of ancient materials, we are reminded both of the plausible part-time productive specialization of individual agrarian households and of the likely interdependence of households (and communities) in production chains—in this case, from fiber to cloth. The apparent spatial disjunction between the spinning (and perhaps tinting) of maguey and cotton fibers is intriguing, as is the potential association of both activities, at least loosely, with public buildings and the activities that took place there. Beaudry-Corbett and McCafferty's closing reminders are apt here, as well: I would paraphrase their admonitions as being that, despite the synchronic nature of this data set, we should challenge equating ideals with practice and that we should continue to challenge assumptions either that all women spun (or wove or both) or that thread, cloth, and women's production were invariant undertakings across space, time, or social group.

Conclusions

The authors in this volume have brought a rich array of theory and evidence to bear on furthering understanding of ancient Maya women. The same contributors have joined a growing host of scholars refining perspectives on the expression of womanhood and reminding us of the constraints and possibilities that all ancient women experienced, as individuals or as groups. Although male gaze and male voices dominated the creation of Maya texts and images in Classic through colonial times, the muted and often subtle record of women's lives has nonetheless acquired rapidly expanding substance and form. Especially as informed by gendered perspectives and feminist theory, newer critical interpretations have unquestionably corrected and clarified earlier views, in exciting and thought-provoking ways. At the same time, they have reaffirmed some long-standing characterizations of Maya womanhood, but with greater nuances of portrayal. It is clear that these ancient women's lives were conditioned by class and historical circumstance as well as by gender. It is also clear that the project of interpretation and inference is incomplete. The heterogeneity of topics, data, and analytical approaches in this volume, as in others, indicates healthy diversity in both focus and perspective. All of these discussions have opened paths toward understanding, along which we encounter ancient Maya women and arguably women and people of other places and times. May our Grandmothers of Light and their companions continue to show the way.

Note

Acknowledgments. I am grateful to Traci Ardren for inspiring and organizing this volume and for her generous invitation to participate. I thank the contributors for their very thoughtful and thought-provoking essays. Many colleagues and students have contributed to my understanding of the matters dealt with here; I single out Bob Preucel and our students in "Engendering Archaeology" for the insights they helped me gain through discussions of gender and feminist theory. Tom Patterson has been particularly supportive during the preparation of these remarks. I thank him as well as Traci Ardren and Travis Stanton for thoughtful comments on the manuscript. And, of course, I am grateful to our own Grandmothers of Light in the profession—at least some of whom are cited in the text—who have illuminated new ways of thinking, about the Maya, about women, about gender, and about feminist perspectives in archaeology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Richard E. W. 1971. *The Ceramics of Altar de Sacrificios.* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University 63, no. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Agurcia Fasquelle, Ricardo. 2000. "Rosalila: Templo del Rey-Sol." Paper presented at "Understanding Early Classic Copan," org. E. Bell, M. Canuto, and R. Sharer, 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 5–9 April, Philadelphia.

Ajpacaja Tum, Pedro Florentino, Manuel Isidro Chox Tum, Francisco Lucas Tepaz Raxuleu, and Diego Adrian Guarchaj Ajtzalam. 1996. *Diccionario del Idioma K'iche'.* La Antigua, Guatemala: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín.

Allison, P. M., ed. 1999. *The Archaeology of Household Activities.* London: Routledge.

Ambrosino, James, David Freidel, David Johnstone, and Charles Suhler. 1995. *The Selz Foundation Yaxuna Project: Final Report of the 1994 Field Season.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

———. 1996. *The Selz Foundation Yaxuna Project: Final Report of the 1995 Field Season.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

Anders, F., ed. 1975. *Codex Dresdensis.* Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.

Andrews, Anthony P. 1983. *Maya Salt Production and Trade.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 1990. "The Fall of Chichén Itzá: A Preliminary Hypothesis." *Latin American Antiquity* 1: 258–67.

Andrews, E. W., and B. W. Fash. 1992. "Continuity and Change in a Royal Maya Residential Complex at Copan." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 3, no. 1: 63–88.

Anyon, Roger, T. J. Ferguson, L. Jackson, L. Lane, and P. Vicenti. 1997. "Native American Oral Tradition and Archaeology." In *Native Americans and Archaeologists,* ed. Nina Swidler, Kurt Dongoske, and Roger Anyon, 77–87. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press.

Aoyama, Kazuo. 1995. "Microwear Analysis in the Southeast Maya Lowlands: Two Case Studies at Copan, Honduras." *Latin American Antiquity* 6, no. 2: 129–44.

Ardren, Traci. 1988. "Women and Power in Monumental Classic Maya Art." B.A. thesis, New College, Sarasota.

Ardren, Traci, Sharon Bennett, David Freidel, David Johnstone, and Charles Suhler. 1994. *The*

Selz Foundation Yaxuna Project: Final Report of the 1993 Field Season. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

Arnold, Dean E. 1993. *Ecology and Ceramic Production in an Andean Community.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ashmore, Wendy A. 1989. "Construction and Cosmology: Politics and Ideology in Lowland Maya Settlement Patterns." In *Word and Image in Maya Culture,* ed. William F. Hanks and Don S. Rice, 272–86. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

———. 1991. "Site-Planning Principles and Concepts of Directionality among the Ancient Maya." *Latin American Antiquity* 2, no. 3: 199–226.

Ashmore, Wendy, Jason Yaeger, and Cynthia Robin. N.d. "Commoner Sense: Late and Terminal Classic Social Strategies in the Xunantunich Area." In *The Terminal Classic in the Maya Lowlands: Collapse, Transition, and Transformation,* ed. D. Rice, P. Rice, and A. Demarest. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Asturias de Barrios, Linda. 1991. "Woman's Clothing as a Code in Comalapa, Guatemala." In *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes,* ed. Margot Blum Schevill, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward B. Dwyer, 127–42. New York: Garland.

Atran, S. 1993. "Itzá Maya Tropical Agro-Forestry." *Current Anthropology* 34, no. 5: 633–700.

Avendaño y Loyola, Fray A. de. 1987 [1696]. *Relation of Two Trips to Petén Made for the Conversion of the Heathen Ytzaek and Cebaches.* Trans. C. Bowditch and G. Rivera; ed. F. Comparato. Culver City, Calif.: Labyrinthos.

Ayala Falcón, Maricela. 1995. "The History of Toniná through Its Inscriptions." Ph.D. dissertation, Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin.

———. 1999. "Las Guerreras de Toniná." Paper presented at the Tercera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Palenque, Chiapas.

———. 2001. "Métodos para estudiar la escritura maya." *Arqueología Mexicana* 8, no. 48: 54–57.

Bakhtin, M. M. 1986. *The Problem of Speech Genres.* In *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays.* Trans. Vern W. McGee. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Ball, Joseph. 1983. "Teotihuacan, the Maya, and Ceramic Interchange: A Contextual Perspective." In *Highland–Lowland Interaction in Mesoamerica: Interdisciplinary Approaches,* ed. Arthur Miller, 125–45. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Ball, Joseph W., and Jennifer T. Taschek. 1989. "Teotihuacan's Fall and the Rise of the Itzá: Realignments and Role Changes in the Terminal Classic Maya Lowlands." In *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan A.D. 700–900,* ed. Richard A. Diehl and Janet C. Berlo, 187–200. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Barber, Elizabeth Wayland. 1994. *Women's Work: The First 20,000 Years.* New York: W. W. Norton and Co.

Barrera Vásquez, Alfredo, Juan Ramón Bastarrachea Manzano, William Brito Sansores, Refugio Vermont Salas, David Dzul Góngora, and Domingo Dzul Poot, eds. 1980. *Diccionario Maya Cordemex: Maya–Español, Español–Maya.* Mérida: Ediciones Cordemex.

Barthes, Roland. 1977a. "Diderot, Brecht, Eisenstein." In *Image-Music-Text,* trans. Stephen Heath, 69–78. New York: Noonday Press.

———. 1977b. "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives." In *Image-Music-Text,* trans. Stephen Heath, 79–124. New York: Noonday Press.

———. 1977c. "Rhetoric of the Image." In *Image-Music-Text,* trans. Stephen Heath, 32–51. New York: Noonday Press.

Bassie-Sweet, Karen. 1991. *From the Mouth of the Dark Cave: Commemorative Sculpture of the Late Classic Maya.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. N.d. "Maya Gods of Corn." Unpublished MS.

Baudez, Claude F., ed. 1983. *Introduccion a la Arqueologia de Copan, Honduras,* vols. 1–3. Tegucigalpa: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia.

Bauman, Richard. 1986. *Story, Performance, and Event.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bauman, Richard, and Charles L. Briggs. 1990. "Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19: 59–88.

Baumann, H. 1928. "The Division of Work according to Sex in African Hoe Culture." *Africa* 2: 289–319.

Beaudry-Corbett, Marilyn. In press. "Ceramics and Their Use at Ceren." In *Before the Volcano Erupted: The Ancient Ceren Village in Central America,* ed. Payson Sheets. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Beaudry-Corbett, Marilyn, S. E. Simmons, and D. B. Tucker. In press. "Household 1." In *Before the Volcano Erupted: The Ancient Ceren Village in Central America,* ed. Payson Sheets. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Becker, Marshall J. 1979. "Priests, Peasants, and Ceremonial Centers: The Intellectual History of a Model." In *Maya Archaeology and Ethnohistory,* ed. Norman Hammond and Gordon R. Willey, 3–20. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Becquelin, Pierre, and Claude Baudez. 1982–84. "Toniná: Une cité Maya du Chiapas (Mexique)." In *Estudes Mesoamericaines,* vol. 6. Mexico City: Centre d'Etudes Mexicaines et Centroamericaines.

Becquelin, Pierre, and Eric Taladoire. 1990. "Toniná: Une cité Maya du Chiapas (Mexique)." In *Estudes Mesoamericaines,* vol. 6., 1559–1624. Mexico City: Centre d'Etudes Mexicaines et Centroamericaines.

Bell, Ellen E., and Dorrie Reents-Budet. 2000. "Early Classic Ceramic Offerings at Copan, Honduras: A Comparison of the Hunal and Margarita Tombs." Paper presented at "Understanding Early Classic Copan," org. E. Bell, M. Canuto, and R. Sharer, 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 5–9 April, Philadelphia.

Bell, Ellen E., R. J. Sharer, D. W. Sedat, M. A. Canuto, and L. A. Grant. 2000. "The Margarita Tomb at Copan, Honduras: A Research Update." *Expedition* 42, no. 3: 21–25.

Bell, Ellen E., R. J. Sharer, L. P. Traxler, D. W. Sedat, and C. W. Carrelli. N.d. "Tombs and Burials within the Early Classic Copan Acropolis." In *Understanding Early Classic Copan,* ed. Ellen E. Bell, M. A. Canuto, and R. J. Sharer. Los Angeles: Cotsen Press, Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Bell, Ellen E., L. P. Traxler, D. W. Sedat, and R. J. Sharer. 1999. "Uncovering Copán's Earliest Royal Tombs." *Expedition* 41, no. 2: 29–35.

Benedict, Ruth. 1934. *Patterns of Culture.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Bennett, Sharon. 1994. "The Burial Excavations at Yaxuna in 1993." In *The Selz Foundation Yaxuna Project Final Report of the 1993 Field Season,* Traci Ardren, Sharon Bennett, David Freidel, David Johnstone, and Charles Suhler, 89–105. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

Berlin, Heinrich. 1963. "The Palenque Triad." *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* (n.s.) 52: 91–99.

———. 1982. "Tres Ensayos de Divulgacion (Tikal; La Mujer Maya Como Factor Politico; Entretenimiento Aritmetico)." In *Historia y Antropología de Guatemala: Ensayos en Honor de J. Daniel Contreras R.*, ed. Jorge Luján Muñoz, 1–13. San Carlos: Facultad de Humanidades, Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala.

Berlo, Janet. 1984. *Teotihuacan Art Abroad.* BAR International Series, 199. Cambridge: British Archaeological Reports.

Bey, George J., and Christopher A. Pool, eds. 1992. *Ceramic Production and Distribution: An Integrated Approach.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview.

Beyer, Hermann. 1937. *Studies on the Inscriptions of Chichén Itzá.* Contributions to American Archaeology, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 21, no. 483. Washington, D.C.: Carneigie Institution of Washington.

Blanton, Richard E., S. A. Kowalewski, G. Feinman, and J. Appel. 1981. *Ancient Mesoamerica: A Comparison of Change in Three Regions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bolles, John S. 1977. *Las Monjas, a Major Pre-Mexican Architectural Complex at Chichén Itzá.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Boot, Erik. 1996. "Recent Epigraphic Research on the Inscriptions at Chichen Itza, Yucatán, Mexico." *Yumtzilob* 8, no. 1: 5–27.

———. N.d.a. "*An u mam* Collocation at Chichen Itza: Does K'ak'upakal Have a Maternal Grandfather?" Unpublished MS, 10 December 1993.

———. N.d.b. "The Classic Paradigm of Power at Chich'en Itsa: K'ak' u Pakal as 'the First among Equals.' " Unpublished MS, 15 March 1996.

———. N.d.c. "Las Monjas, Chichén Itzá: The Seven Lintels and Their Inscriptions." Unpublished MS, 20 March 1993.

———. N.d.d. "A New Title at Chichen Itsa: Hun Yahawal Winik. Notes and Questions Relative to the *Yabaw*-Collocation." Unpublished MS, 3 January 1994.

Boremanse, D. 1998. *Hach Winik: The Lacandon Maya of Chiapas, Southern México.* Albany: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, State University of New York.

Boserup, Esther. 1966. *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth.* Chicago: Aldine.

———. 1970. *Woman's Role in Economic Development.* London: St. Martin's Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bowers, Alfred. 1965. *Hidatsa Social and Ceremonial Organization.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, 194. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology.

Brainerd, George W. 1958. *The Archaeological Ceramics of Yucatán.* Anthropological Records, 19. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bricker, Victoria R. 1973. *Ritual Humor in Highland Chiapas.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1986. *A Grammar of Mayan Hieroglyphs.* Middle American Research Series, 56. New Orleans: Tulane University.

Bricker, Victoria R., Eleuterio Po'ot Yah, and Ofelia Dzul de Po'ot. 1998. *A Dictionary of the Maya Language as Spoken in Hocabá, Yucatán.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Brisko, Jo Ann Roman. 1994. "Maya Goddesses: By What Name Do We Call Them?" In *U Mut Maya*, vol. 5, ed. Carolyn Jones and Tom Jones, 197–206. Arcata, Calif.: U Mut Maya Press.

Brown, J. K. 1970. "A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex." *American Anthropologist* 72: 1073–78.

Brown, L., and A. Gerstle. In press. "Structure 10: Feasting and Village Festivals." In *Before the Volcano Erupted: The Ancient Ceren Village in Central America*, ed. Payson Sheets. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Brown, S. 1993. "Feminist Research in Archaeology: What Does It Mean? Why Is It Taking So Long?" In *Feminist Theory and the Classics*, ed. N. S. Rabinowitz and A. Richlin, 238–71. New York: Routledge.

Bruhns, Karen Olsen. 1988. "Yesterday the Queen Wore . . . : An Analysis of Women and Costume in the Public Art of the Late Classic Maya." In *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, ed. Virginia E. Miller, 105–34. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

———. 1991. "Sexual Activities: Some Thoughts on the Sexual Division of Labor and Archaeological Interpretation." In *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference*, ed. Dale Walde and Noreen D. Willows, 420–29. Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. 1991. "Weaving and Cooking: Women's Production in Aztec Mexico." In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, ed. Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, 224–54. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

———. 1992. "Distinguished Lecture in Archaeology: Breaking and Entering the Ecosystem—Gender, Class, and Faction Steal the Show." *American Anthropologist* 94: 551–67.

———. 1996. "Figurines and the Aztec State: Testing the Effectiveness of Ideological Domination." In *Gender and Archaeology: Essays in Research and Practice*, ed. Rita P. Wright, 143–66. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Buikstra, Jane M., D. Price, J. Burton, and L. Wright. 2000. "The Early Classic Royal Burials at Copan: A Bioarchaeological Perspective." Paper presented at "Understanding Early Classic Copan," org. E. Bell, M. Canuto, and R. Sharer, 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 5–9 April, Philadelphia.

Burton, Michael L., L. A. Brudner, and D. R. White. 1977. "A Model of the Sexual Division of Labor." *American Ethnologist* 4: 227–51.

Burton, Michael L., and Karl Reitz. 1981. "The Plow, Female Contribution to Agricultural Subsistence, and Polygyny." *Behavior Science Research* 16: 275–305.

Burton, Michael L., and D. R. White. 1984. "Sexual Division of Labor in Agriculture." *American Anthropologist* 86: 568–83.

Burton, Michael L., D. R. White, and M. M. Dow. 1982. *Sexual Division of Labor in Old World Agriculture.* Working Paper, 5. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York: Routledge.

———. 1993. *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* New York: Routledge.

Callender, Charles, and Lee M. Kochems. 1983. "The North American Berdache." *Current Anthropology* 24, no. 4: 443–56.

Carlsen, Robert S., and Martin Prechtel. 1991. "The Flowering of the Dead: An Interpretation of Highland Maya Culture." *Man* 26: 23–42.

Carney, Judith, and Michael Watts. 1990. "Manufacturing Dissent: Work, Gender and the Politics of Meaning in a Peasant Society." *Africa* 60, no. 2: 207–42.

Carr, Soraya. 1996. "Precolumbian Maya Exploitation and Management of Deer Populations." In *The Managed Mosaic: Ancient Maya Agriculture and Resource Use,* ed. Scott L. Fedick, 251–61. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Carrasco V., Ramón. 1985. "La Señora Cimi, Señora de la Familia de la Luna, en las Inscripciones Tardías de Yaxchilán y Bonampak." In *Fifth Palenque Round Table, 1983,* ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Virginia M. Fields, 85–95. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

Carrelli, Christine W. 1990. "Mortuary Practices in Groups 8L-10 and 8L-12, Copán, Honduras." B.A. thesis, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.

Casas, Bartolomé de las. 1967. *Apologética Historia Sumaria,* 2 vols. Ed. Edmundo O'Gorman. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas.

Castellanos, Rosario. 1998. *Oficio de Tinieblas.* New York: Penguin Books.

Casteñeda, Quetzil E. 1996. *In the Museum of Maya Culture: Touring Chichén Itzá.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Chase, Arlen F. 1985. "Contextual Implications of Pictorial Vases from Tayasal, Petén." In *Fourth Palenque Round Table, 1980,* ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Virginia M. Fields, 193–201. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

Chase, Arlen F., and Diane Z. Chase. 1987. *Investigations at the Classic Maya City of Caracol, Belize: 1985–1987.* Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute Monograph, 3. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

———. 1996. "The Organization and Composition of Classic Lowland Maya Society: The View from Caracol, Belize." In *Eighth Palenque Round Table, 1993,* ed. Merle Greene Robertson, Martha J. Macri, and Jan McHargue, 213–22. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

Chase, Diane Z. 1997. "Southern Lowland Maya Archaeology and Human Skeletal Remains: Interpretations from Caracol, Santa Rita Corozal, and Tayasal." In *Bones of the Maya,* ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 15–27. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Chase, Diane Z., and Arlen F. Chase, eds. 1992. *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Chase, Diane Z., Arlen F. Chase, and W. A. Haviland. 1990. "The Classic Maya City: Reconsidering the Mesoamerican Urban Tradition." *American Anthropologist* 92: 499–506.

Ciaramella, Mary. 1994. "The Lady with the Snake Headdress." In *Seventh Palenque Round Table, 1989,* ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Virginia M. Fields, 201–09. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

———. 1999. *The Weavers in the Codices.* Center for Maya Research, Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing, 44. Washington, D.C.: Center for Maya Research.

Claassen, Cheryl. 1992. "Questioning Gender: An Introduction." In *Exploring Gender through Archaeology: Selected Papers from the 1991 Boone Conference,* ed. Cheryl Claassen, 1–9. Monographs in World Archaeology, 11. Madison, Wisc.: Prehistory Press.

Clancy, Flora. 1986. "Text and Image in the Tablets of the Cross Group at Palenque." *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 11: 17–32.

Clark, John E. 1995. "A Maya Grass Axe or Corn Sickle." *Lithic Technology* 20, no. 2: 128–34.

Clark, John E., and Stephen D. Houston. 1998. "Craft Specialization, Gender, and Personhood among the Post-Conquest Maya of Yucatán, México." In *Craft and Social Identity*, ed. Cathy Lynn Costin and Rita P. Wright, 31–46. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, 8. Arlington, Va.: American Anthropological Association.

Clarkson, Persis B. 1978. "Classic Maya Pictorial Ceramics: A Survey of Content and Theme." In *Papers on the Economy and Architecture of the Ancient Maya*, ed. Raymond Sidrys, 86–141. Institute of Archaeology Monograph, 7. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Closs, Michael P. 1992. *I Am a* Kahal*: My Parents Were Scribes.* Center for Maya Research, Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing, 39. Washington, D.C.: Center for Maya Research.

Cobos, Rafael. 2000. "Multepal or Centralized Kingship?: New Evidence on Governmental Organization at Chichén Itzá." Paper presented at "Rethinking Tula, Tollan, and Chichén Itzá," org. Jeffrey Quilter, Jeff Kowalski, and Cynthia Kristan-Graham, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 19–20 February.

———. In press. "Fuentes Historicas y Arqueologia: Convergencias y Divergencias en la Reconstruccion del Periodo Clasico Terminal de Chichen Itza." In *"Mayab" de la Sociedad Espanola de Estudios Mayas.* Madrid: Deparamento de Antropologia y Etnologia de America, Universidad Complutense.

Coe, Michael, and Justin Kerr. 1997. *The Art of the Maya Scribe.* New York: Thames and Hudson.

Coe, William R. 1959. *Piedras Negras Archaeology: Artifacts, Caches, and Burials.* Museum Monographs. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Coggins, Clemency C. 1975. "Painting and Drawing Styles at Tikal: An Historical and Iconographic Reconstruction." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

Cohen, Mark N., K. O'Connor, M. Danforth, K. Jacobi, and C. Armstrong. 1997. "Archaeology and Osteology of the Tipu Site." In *Bones of the Maya*, ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 78–88. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Collier, George A. 1975. *Fields of the Tzotzil: The Ecological Bases of Tradition in Highland Chiapas.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Collier, Jane F. 1968. *Courtship and Marriage in Zinacantán, Chiapas, Mexico.* Middle American Research Series, 25. New Orleans: Tulane University.

Conkey, Margaret W., and Joan M. Gero. 1991. "Tensions, Pluralities, and Engendering Archaeology: An Introduction to Women and Prehistory." In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, ed. Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, 3–30. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 1997. "Programme to Practice: Gender and Feminism in Archaeology." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26: 411–37.

Conkey, Margaret W., and Janet Spector. 1984. "Archaeology and the Study of Gender." In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, vol. 7, ed. M. Schiffer, 1–38. New York: Academic Press.

Conyers, L. 1996. "The Use of Ground-Penetrating Radar to Map the Topography and Structures at the Cerén Site, El Salvador." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Cordry, D. B., and D. M. Cordry. 1941. *Costumes and Weaving of the Zoque Indians of Chiapas, Mexico.* Southwest Museum Papers, 15. Los Angeles: Southwest Museum.

Coultas, C. L., M. E. Collins, and A. F. Chase. 1992. "Effect of Ancient Maya Agriculture on

Terraced Soils of Caracol, Belize." In *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Pedo-Archaeology,* ed. J. E. Foss, M. E. Timpson, and M. W. Morris, 191–201. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station.

Cowgill, George. 1993. "Distinguished Lecture in Archaeology: Beyond Criticizing New Archaeology." *American Anthropologist* 95, no. 3: 551–73.

Culbert, T. Patrick. 1991. "Maya Political History and Elite Interaction: A Summary View." In *Classic Maya Political History: Hieroglyphic and Archaeological Evidence,* ed. T. Patrick Culbert, 311–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1993. *The Ceramics of Tikal: Vessels from the Burials, Caches, and Problematical Deposits.* Tikal Report, 25, part A, University Museum Monograph, 81. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Danforth, Marie E. 1997. "Late Classic Maya Health Patterns: Evidence from Enamel Microdefects." In *Bones of the Maya,* ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 127–37. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Danforth, Marie Elaine, Keith Jacobi, and Mark Nathan Cohen. 1997. "Gender and Health among the Colonial Maya of Tipu, Belize." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 8, no. 1: 13–22.

Davis, Virginia D. 1978. "Ritual of the Northern Lacandon Maya." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Davoust, Michel. 1980. "Les Premiers Chefs Mayas de Chichén Itzá." *Mexicon* 2, no. 2: 25–29.

de Certeau, M. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Deetz, James F. 1965. *The Dynamics of Stylistic Change in Arikara Ceramics.* Illinois Studies in Anthropology, 4. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Denevan, W. M. 1992. "Stone vs. Metal Axes: The Ambiguity of Shifting Cultivation in Prehistoric Amazonia." *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 20: 153–65.

Devereaux, Leslie. 1987. "Gender Difference and Relations of Inequality in Zinacantan." In *Dealing with Inequality: Analyzing Gender Relations in Melanesia and Beyond,* ed. Marilyn Strathern, 89–111. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Vos, Jan. 1988. *La Paz de Dios y del Rey: La conquista de la Selva Lacandona 1521–1581.* Chiapas: Colección Ceiba, Gobierno del Estado de Chiapas.

Diccionario de Motul. 1929. Maya–Español. Fray Antonio de Ciudad Real, supposed author. Ed. Fray Martínez Hernández. Mérida: Compañia Tipográfica Yucateca, S.A.

Dobres, M. A. 2000. *Technology and Social Agency.* London: Blackwell.

Doolittle, W. E. 1990. "Terrace Origins: Hypotheses and Research Strategies." *Yearbook, Conference of Latin Americanist Geographers* 16: 94–97.

Dow, M. M. 1985. "Agricultural Intensification and Craft Specialization: A Non-recursive Model." *Ethnology* 24: 137–52.

Drennan, R. D. 1988. "Household Location and Compact versus Dispersed Settlement in Prehispanic Mesoamerica." In *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past,* ed. R. R. Wilk and W. A. Ashmore, 273–395. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Du, S. 2000. "Husband and Wife Do It Together: Sex/Gender Allocation of Labor among the Qhawqhat Lahu of Lancang, Southwest China." *American Anthropologist* 102, no. 3: 520–37.

Dunning, N. P., and T. Beach. 1994. "Soil Erosion, Slope Management, and Ancient Terracing in the Maya Lowlands." *Latin American Antiquity* 5: 51–69.

Dütting, Dieter, and Anthony F. Aveni. 1982. "The 2 Cib 14 Mol Event in the Palenque Inscriptions." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 107: 233–58.

Earle, Duncan M., and Dean R. Snow. 1985. "The Origin of the 260-Day Calendar: The Gestation Hypothesis Reconsidered in Light of Its Use among the Quiche Maya." In *Fifth Palenque Round Table, 1983*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Virginia M. Fields, 241–44. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

Eber, Christine, and Brenda Rosenbaum. 1993. " 'That We May Serve beneath Your Feet': Women Weavers in Highland Chiapas, Mexico." In *Crafts in the World Market: The Impact of Global Exchange on Middle American Artisans*, ed. June Nash, 155–80. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Echo-Hawk, Roger. 1997. "Forging a New Ancient History for Native America." In *Native Americans and Archaeologists*, ed. Nina Swidler, Kurt Dongoske, and Roger Anyon, 88–102. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press.

Edmonson, Munro. 1971. *The Book of Counsel: The* Popol Vuh *of the Quiche Maya of Guatemala*. Middle American Research Series, 35. New Orleans: Tulane University.

Eggebrecht, Eva, Arne Eggebrecht, Nikolai Grube, and Wilfried Seipel. 1993. *Die Welt der Maya*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Elmendorf, M. 1976. *Nine Maya Women: A Village Faces Change*. Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing.

Ember, Carol R. 1983. "The Relative Decline in Women's Contribution to Agriculture with Intensification." *American Anthropologist* 85, no. 2: 285–304.

Emerson, R. A. N.d. "Preliminary Survey of the Milpa System of Maize Culture as Practiced by the Maya Indians of the Northern Part of the Yucatan Peninsula." Unpublished MS, Cornell University.

Emerson, R. A., and J. H. Kempton. 1935. "Agronomic Investigations in Yucatan." *Carnegie Institution of Washington Yearbook* 34: 138–42.

Espejo-Ponce Hunt, M., and M. Restall. 1997. "Work, Marriage, and Status: Maya Women of Colonial Yucatán." In *Indian Women of Early México*, ed. S. Schroeder, S. Wood, and R. Haskett, 231–54. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Ewell, P. T., and D. Merrill-Sands. 1987. "Milpa in Yucatán: A Long-Fallow Maize System and Its Alternatives in the Maya Peasant Economy." In *Comparative Farming Systems*, ed. B. L. Turner II and S. B. Brush, 95–129. New York: Guilford Press.

Farriss, N. M. 1978. "Nucleation versus Dispersal: The Dynamics of Population Movements in Colonial Yucatán." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58: 187–216.

———. 1984. *Maya Society under Colonial Rule: The Collective Enterprise of Survival*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Fash, William L. 1991. *Scribes, Warriors, and Kings: The City of Copan and the Ancient Maya*. London: Thames and Hudson.

———. 2000. "The Origins of the Copan Principal Group: Evidence from the Area North of the Acropolis." Paper presented at "Understanding Early Classic Copan," org. E. Bell, M. Canuto, and R. Sharer, 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 5–9 April, Philadelphia.

Fedick, S. L. 1988. "Prehistoric Maya Settlement and Land Use Patterns in the Upper Belize River Area, Belize, Central America." Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, Tempe.

———. 1989. "The Economics of Agricultural Land Use and Settlement in the Upper Belize Valley." In *Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement 4: Prehistoric Maya Economies of Belize*, ed. Barry Isaac, 215–53. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.

———. 1993. "Response to S. Atran, Itzá Maya Tropical Agro-Forestry." *Current Anthropology* 34, no. 5: 690–91.

———. 1994. "Ancient Maya Agricultural Terracing in the Upper Belize River Area: Computer-Aided Modeling and the Results of Initial Field Investigations." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 5: 107–27.

———. 1996. "Introduction: New Perspectives on Ancient Maya Agriculture and Resource Use." In *The Managed Mosaic: Ancient Maya Agriculture and Resource Use*, ed. S. L. Fedick, 1–16. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Folbre, Nancy. 1982. "Exploitation Comes Home: A Critique of the Marxian Theory of Family Labour." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 6: 317–29.

Förstemann, E. W. 1906. *Commentary on the Maya Manuscript in the Royal Public Library of Dresden.* Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Paper 4, no. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Fought, John. 1972. *Chorti (Mayan) Texts (1).* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Fox, Hugh, ed. 1978. *First Fire: Central and South American Indian Poetry.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Fox, James A., and John S. Justeson. 1984. "Polyvalence in Mayan Hieroglyphic Writing." In *Phoneticism in Mayan Hieroglyphic Writing*, ed. John S. Justeson and Lyle Campbell, 17–76. Institute for Mesoamerican Studies Publication, 9. Albany: State University of New York.

Fox, Richard A., Jr. 1993. *Archaeology, History, and Custer's Last Battle: The Little Bighorn Re-examined.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Freidel, David A. 1979. "Cultural Areas and Interaction Spheres: Contrasting Approaches to the Emergence of Civilization in the Maya Lowlands." *American Antiquity* 44: 6–54.

———. 1981. "The Political Economics of Residential Dispersion among the Lowland Maya." In *Lowland Maya Settlement Patterns*, ed. Wendy Ashmore, 371–82. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1983. "Political Systems in Lowland Yucatán: Dynamics and Structure in Maya Settlement." In *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns: Essays in Honor of Gordon R. Willey*, ed. E. Z. Vogt and R. M. Leventhal, 375–86. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1989. "The Maya War Jaguar: Historical Invention and Structural Transformation." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Atlanta.

Freidel, David A., and Jeremy A. Sabloff. 1984. *Cozumel: Late Maya Settlement Patterns.* New York: Academic Press.

Freidel, David A., and Linda Schele. 1997. "Maya Royal Women: A Lesson in Precolumbian History." In *Gender in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Caroline B. Brettell and Carolyn F. Sargent, 59–63. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Freidel, David A., Linda Schele, and Joy Parker. 1993. *Maya Cosmos: Three Thousand Years on the Shaman's Path.* New York: William Morrow and Co.

Freidel, David A., and Charles Suhler. 1998. "Visiones serpentinas y laberintos mayas." *Arqueología Mexicana* 6, no. 34: 28–37.

Freidel, David A., Charles Suhler, and Raphael Cobos. 1992. *The Selz Foundation Yaxuna Project: Final Report of the 1991 Field Season.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

Freidel, David A., Charles Suhler, and Ruth Krochock. 1990. *Yaxuna Archaeological Survey: A Report of the 1989 Field Season and Final Report of Phase One.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

Gailey, Christine Ward. 1987. *Kinship to Kingship: Gender Hierarchy and State Formation in the Tongan Islands.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Gann, Thomas. 1928. *Discoveries and Adventures in Central America.* London: Duckworth.

García Moll, Roberto, Mario Pérez Campa, Daniel Juárez Cossio, and Akira Koneko. 1990. *La Exposición de la Civilización Maya.* Catalogue for an exhibition in six Japanese cities, 1990–91, *La Civilización Maya: El Esplendor de Yaxchilán.*

Garcia Valencia, E. H. 1975. *Vocabulario sobre materiales primas, instrumentos de trabajo, y tecnicas de manufactura.* Cuadernos de Trabajo, 3, Sección de Etnografia. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Garfinkel, H. 1984. *Studies in Ethnomethodology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gaskins, S. 1999. "Historical and Cultural Perspectives on Socialization." *Mind, Culture, and Activity* 6, no. 2: 109–12.

———. N.d. "From Corn to Cash: The Impact on Children of Continuities and Change in Work Patterns within the Mayan Farming Household." In *Gender and Economic Life,* ed. G. Clark. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Geertz, Clifford. 1976. "Art as a Cultural System." *Modern Language Notes* 91, no. 6: 1473–99.

Geller, Pamela L. 2000. "Sex and Gender at Preclassic Cuello: A Mortuary Analysis." Paper presented at the 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Philadelphia.

Gero, Joan M. 1991. "Genderlithics: Women's Roles in Stone Tool Production." In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory,* ed. Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, 163–93. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Gero, Joan M., and Margaret W. Conkey, eds. 1991. *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Gerry, John Phillip. 1993. "Diet and Status among the Classic Maya: An Isotopic Perspective." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

Gerry, John Phillip, and Meredith S. Chesson. 2000. "Classic Maya Diet and Gender Relationships." In *Gender and Material Culture in Archaeological Perspective,* ed. Moira Donald and Linda Hurcombe, 250–65. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Gerstle, A. I. 1990. "1990 Operation 4, Preliminary Report." In *1990 Investigations at the Ceren Site, El Salvador: A Preliminary Report,* ed. Payson D. Sheets and B. R. McKee, 108–37. Boulder: Department of Anthropology, University of Colorado.

Gilchrist, R. 1999. *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past.* London: Routledge.

Gillespie, Susan D. 1989. *The Aztec Kings: The Construction of Rulership in Mexican History.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

———. 2000. "Maya 'Nested Houses': The Ritual Construction of Place." In *Beyond Kinship:*

Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies, ed. Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, 135–60. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gillespie, Susan D., and Rosemary A. Joyce. 1997. "Gendered Goods: The Symbolism of Maya Hierarchical Exchange Relations." In *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica*, ed. Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary A. Joyce, 189–207. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goldberg, M. Y. 1999. "Spatial and Behavioural Negotiation in Classical Athenian City Houses." In *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. P. M. Allison, 142–61. London: Routledge.

Gordon, G. B. 1896. *Prehistoric Ruins of Copan, Honduras: A Preliminary Report on Explorations 1891–1895*. Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, 1, no. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University.

Gossen, Gary. 1974. *Chamulas in the World of the Sun: Time and Space in a Maya Oral Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Graff, Don, and Gabrielle Vail. 2001. "Censers and Stars: Issues in the Dating of the Madrid Codex." *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal* 17: 58–95.

Graham, Elizabeth. 1991. "Women and Gender in Maya Prehistory." In *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference*, ed. Dale Walde and Noreen D. Willows, 470–79. Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary.

Graham, Ian. 1979. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, vol. 3, part 2: Yaxchilan*. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

———. 1982. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, vol. 3, part 3: Yaxchilan*. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Graham, Ian, and Eric von Euw. 1975. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, vol. 2, part 1: Naranjo*. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

———. 1977. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, vol. 3, part 1: Yaxchilan*. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

———. 1978. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, vol. 2, part 2: Naranjo, Chunhuitz, Xunantunich*. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Graña-Behrens, Daniel, Christian Prager, and Elizabeth Wagner. 1999. "The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the 'High Priest's Grave' at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, México." *Mexicon* 21 (June): 61–66.

Green, Linda. 1999. *Fear as a Way of Life: Mayan Widows in Rural Guatemala*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gross, Joseph J., and Carl Kendall. 1983. "The Analysis of Domestic Organization in Mesoamerica: The Case of Postmarital Residence in Santiago Atitlán, Guatemala." In *Heritage of Conquest: Thirty Years Later*, ed. Carl Kendall, John Hawkins, and Laurel Bossen, 201–28. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Grube, Nikolai. 1994. "Hieroglyphic Sources for the History of Northwest Yucatán." In *Hidden among the Hills: Maya Archaeology of the Northwest Yucatán Peninsula*, ed. Hanns J. Prem, 316–58. First Maler Symposium, Bonn, 1989, *Acta Mesoamericana*, vol. 7. Bonn: Verlag von Flemming Möckmühl.

Grube, Nikolai, and Werner Nahm. 1990. *A Sign for the Syllable* mi. Center for Maya Research,

Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing, 33. Washington, D.C.: Center for Maya Research.

Grube, Nikolai, and Linda Schele. 1994a. "Kuy, the Owl of Omen and War." *Mexicon* 16, no. 1: 10–17.

———. 1994b. *Tikal Altar 5.* Texas Notes on Precolumbian Art, Writing, and Culture, 66. Austin: CHAAAC.

Guerra, Francisco. 1971. *The Pre-Columbian Mind.* London: Seminar Press.

Guiteras Holmes, Calixta. 1951. "El Calpulli de San Pablo Chalchihuitín." In *Homenaje al Dr. Alfonso Caso,* ed. Juan Comas, 199–206. Mexico City: Imprenta Nuevo Mundo.

Guyer, J. 1980. "Food, Cocoa, and the Division of Labour by Sex in Two West African Societies." *Journal of the Society for the Comparative Study of Society and History* 22, no. 3: 355–73.

———. 1981. "The Raw, the Cooked, and the Half-Baked: A Note on the Division of Labor by Sex." Boston University African Studies Center Working Paper, 48. Theme issue, "Naturalism in Models of African Production," *Man* 19: 371–88.

———. 1988. "The Multiplication of Labor: Historical Methods in the Study of Gender and Agricultural Change in Modern Africa." *Current Anthropology* 29: 247–72.

———. 1991. "Female Farming in Anthropology and African History." In *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era,* ed. M. di Leonardo, 257–77. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hamann, Byron. 1997. "Weaving and the Iconography of Prestige: The Royal Gender Symbolism of Lord 5 Flower's/Lady 4 Rabbit's Family." In *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica,* ed. Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary A. Joyce, 153–72. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hammond, Norman. 1978. "The Myth of the Milpa: Agricultural Expansion in the Maya Lowlands." In *Pre-Hispanic Maya Agriculture,* ed. P. D. Harrison and B. L. Turner II, 23–24. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1991. "Inside the Black Box: Defining Maya Polity." In *Classic Maya Political History: Hieroglyphic and Archaeological Evidence,* ed. T. Culbert, 253–84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1999. "The Genesis of Hierarchy: Mortuary and Offertory Ritual in the Pre-Classic at Cuello, Belize." In *Social Patterns in Pre-Classic Mesoamerica,* ed. David C. Grove and Rosemary A. Joyce, 49–66. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Hamrick, Robert P. 1994. "Appelative Phrases in the Inscriptions of Yaxchilan." B.A. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Hanks, William F. 1990. *Referential Practice: Language and Lived Space among the Maya.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hansen, Richard. 1992. "The Archaeology of Ideology: A Study of Maya Preclassic Architectural Sculpture at Nakbe, Guatemala." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.

Harke, H. 1992. "Hanging Symbols in a Changing Society: The Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite in the Seventh Century." In *The Age of Sutton Hoo,* ed. M. Carver, 149–62. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press.

Harrison, P. D. 1993. "Aspects of Water Management in the Southern Maya Lowlands." In *Economic Aspects of Water Management in the Prehistoric New World,* ed. V. L. Scarborough and

B. L. Isaac, 71–119. Research in Economic Anthropology Supplement, 7. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press.

Harrison, P. D., and B. L. Turner II, eds. 1978. *Pre-Hispanic Maya Agriculture.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Hastorf, Christine. 1991. "Gender, Space, and Food in Prehistory." In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory,* ed. Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, 132–59. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Haviland, William A. 1968. *Ancient Lowland Maya Social Organization.* Middle American Research Series, 26, no. 5. New Orleans: Tulane University.

———. 1977. "Dynastic Genealogies from Tikal, Guatemala: Implications for Descent and Political Organization." *American Antiquity* 42: 61–67.

———. 1981. "Dower Houses and Minor Centers at Tikal, Guatemala: An Investigation into the Identification of Valid Units in Settlement Hierarchies." In *Lowland Maya Settlement Patterns,* ed. Wendy Ashmore, 89–117. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1997. "The Rise and Fall of Sexual Inequality: Death and Gender at Tikal, Guatemala." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 8, no. 1: 1–12.

Hayden, Brian, ed. 1987. *Lithic Studies among the Contemporary Highland Maya.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Helmuth, N. 1977. "Cholti-Lacandon (Chiapas) and Petén-Ytzá Agriculture, Settlement Pattern and Population." In *Social Process in Maya Prehistory: Studies in Honor of Sir Eric Thompson,* ed. Norman Hammond, 421–48. London: Academic Press.

———. 1987. "The Surface of the Underwaterworld: Iconography of the Gods of Early Classic Maya Art in Peten, Guatemala." Ph.D. dissertation, 2 vols., revised, Karl-Franzens-Universitaet, Graz. Culver City, Calif.: Foundation for Latin American Anthropological Research.

Hendon, Julia A. 1996. "Archaeological Approaches to the Organization of Domestic Labor: Household Practice and Domestic Relations." *Annual Reviews of Anthropology* 25: 45–61.

———. 1997. "Women's Work, Women's Space, and Women's Status among the Classic-Period Maya Elite of the Copan Valley." In *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica,* ed. Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary A. Joyce, 33–46. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 1999. "Multiple Sources of Prestige and the Social Evaluation of Women in Prehispanic Mesoamerica." In *Material Symbols: Culture and Economy in Prehistory,* ed. John E. Robb, 257–76. Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper, 26. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Hendrickson, Carol. 1995. *Weaving Identities: Construction of Dress and Self in a Highland Guatemala Town.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Heritage, J. 1984. *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hewitt, Erika A. 1999. "What's in a Name: Gender, Power, and Classic Maya Women Rulers." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 10, no. 2: 251–62.

Hill, Erica. 1998. "Gender-Informed Archaeology: The Priority of Definition, the Use of Analogy, and the Multivariate Approach." *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 5, no. 1: 99–128.

Hill, Willard W. 1935. "The Status of the Hermaphrodite and Transvestite in Navaho Culture." *American Anthropologist* 37: 273–79.

Hofling, Charles A., and Thomas O'Neil. 1992. "Eclipse Cycles in the Moon Goddess Almanacs in the Dresden Codex." In *The Sky in Mayan Literature,* ed. Anthony F. Aveni, 102–32. New York: Oxford University Press.

Holland, William R. 1963. *Medicina Maya en los Altos de Chiapas: Un Estudio del Cambio Socio-cultural.* Mexico City: Instituto Nacional Indigenista.

Hopkins, Nicholas A. 1969. "A Formal Account of Chalchihuitán Tzotzil Kinship Terminology." *Ethnology* 8, no. 1: 85–102.

———. 1988. "Classic Mayan Kinship Systems: Epigraphic and Ethnographic Evidence for Patrilineality." *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 17: 87–121.

———. 1991. "Classic and Modern Relationship Terms and the 'Child of Mother' Glyph (T I.606:23)." In *Sixth Palenque Round Table, 1986,* ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Virginia M. Fields, 255–65. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Houston, Stephen D. 1993. *Hieroglyphs and History at Dos Pilas: Dynastic Politics of the Classic Maya.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Houston, Stephen D., and David Stuart. 1989. *The Way Glyph: Evidence for 'Co-Essences' among the Ancient Maya.* Center for Maya Research, Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing, 30. Washington, D.C.: Center for Maya Research.

———. 1996. "Of Gods, Glyphs, and Kings: Divinity and Rulership among the Classic Maya." *Antiquity* 70: 289–312.

Hunt, Eva. 1977. *The Transformation of the Hummingbird.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Jacobs, Sue-Ellen. 1983. "Comment on 'The North American Berdache.'" *Current Anthropology* 24, no. 4: 459–60.

Jacobs, Sue-Ellen, and Wesley Thomas. 1994. "Native American Two-Spirits." *Anthropology Newsletter,* November: 7.

Johnson, Nicholas. 1989. "The Life Cycle Almanacs on Pages 91d through 95d of the Madrid Codex." Unpublished MS, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Jones, Christopher. 1977. "Inauguration Dates of Three Late Classic Rulers of Tikal, Guatemala." *American Antiquity* 53, no. 1: 28–60.

Jones, Christopher, and Linton Satterthwaite. 1982. *The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tikal: The Carved Monuments.* Tikal Report, 33, part A. University Museum Monograph, 44. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Jones, G. D. 1989. *Maya Resistance to Spanish Rule: Time and History on a Colonial Frontier.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Jordan, B. 1980. *Birth in Four Cultures: A Cross-Cultural Investigation of Childbirth in Yucatán, Holland, Sweden, and the U.S.* Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications.

Josserand, J. Kathryn. 1991. "The Narrative Structure of Hieroglyphic Texts at Palenque." In *Sixth Palenque Round Table, 1986,* ed. Virginia M. Fields, 12–31. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. 1992. "Women in Classic Maya Texts." Paper presented at the Tenth Annual Maya Weekend, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

———. 1993. "Women in Classic Maya Texts." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.

———. 1994. "Women, Status, and Alliance in Classic Maya Society." Paper presented at the Department of Anthropology Graduate Colloquium Program, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

———. 1995. "Participant Tracking in Hieroglyphic Texts: Who Was That Masked Man?" *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 5, no. 1: 65–89.

Joyce, Rosemary A. 1992a. "Dimensiones Simbólicas del Traje en Monumentos Clásicos Mayas: La Construcción del Género a través del Vestido." In *La Indumentaria y el Tejido Mayas a través del Tiempo,* ed. Linda Asturias de Barrios and Dina Fernández García, 29–38. Guatemala City: Ediciones del Museo Ixchel.

———. 1992b. "Images of Gender and Labor Organization in Classic Maya Society." In *Exploring Gender through Archaeology: Selected Papers from the 1991 Boone Conference,* ed. Cheryl Claassen, 63–70. Monographs in World Archaeology, 11. Madison, Wisc.: Prehistory Press.

———. 1993. "Women's Work: Images of Production and Reproduction in Pre-Hispanic Southern Central America." *Current Anthropology* 34: 255–74.

———. 1994. "On Engendering Monte Albán Tomb 7." *Current Anthropology* 35, no. 3: 284–85.

———. 1996a. "The Construction of Gender in Classic Maya Monuments." In *Gender and Archaeology: Essays in Research and Practice,* ed. Rita P. Wright, 167–95. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 1996b. "Performance and Inscription: Negotiation Sex and Gender in Classic Maya Society." Paper presented at the Precolumbian Studies Symposium "Recovering Gender in Precolumbian America," org. C. Klein, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

———. 1998. "Performing the Body in Pre-Hispanic Central America." *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 33: 147–65.

———. 1999. "Social Dimensions of Pre-Classic Burials." In *Social Patterns in Pre-Classic Mesoamerica,* ed. David C. Grove and Rosemary A. Joyce, 15–47. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

———. 2000a. *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 2000b. "Heirlooms and Houses: Materiality and Social Memory." In *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies,* ed. Rosemary A. Joyce and Susan D. Gillespie, 189–212. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 2000c. "A Precolumbian Gaze: Male Sexuality among the Ancient Maya." In *Archaeologies of Sexuality,* ed. R. A. Schmidt and B. L. Voss, 263–86. London: Routledge.

———. N.d. "Negotiating Sex and Gender in Classic Maya Society." In *Gender in Precolumbian America,* ed. Cecelia Klein. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Joyce, Rosemary A., and Cheryl Claassen. 1997. "Women in the Ancient Americas: Archaeologists, Gender, and the Making of Prehistory." In *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica,* ed. Cheryl Claassen and Rosemary A. Joyce, 1–14. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kehoe, Alice B. 1999. "A Resort to Subtler Contrivances." In *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology,* ed. Tracy L. Sweely, 17–29. London: Routledge.

Kelley, David H. 1968. "Kakupacal and the Itzás." *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 7: 255–68.

———. 1982. "Notes on Puuc Inscriptions and History." In *The Puuc: New Perspectives. Papers Presented at the Puuc Symposium, Central College, May 1977, Supplement*, ed. Lawrence Mills, 1–18. Pella, Iowa: Central College.

———. 1983. "The Maya Calendar Correlation Problem." In *Civilization in the Ancient Americas: Essays in Honor of Gordon Willey*, ed. Richard M. Leventhal and Alan L. Kolata, 157–208. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; and Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Kent, Susan. 1998. "Gender and Prehistory in Africa." In *Gender in African Prehistory*, ed. Susan Kent, 9–21. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press.

———. 1999. "Egalitarianism, Equality, and Equitable Power." In *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweely, 30–48. London: Routledge.

Kepecs, Susan, Gary Feinman, and Sylviane Boucher. 1994. "Chichén Itzá and Its Hinterland: A World Systems Perspective." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 5: 141–58.

Kidder, A. V., J. D. Jennings, and E. M. Shook. 1946. *Excavations at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 561. Washington, D.C.: Carneigie Institution of Washington.

Killion, T. W. 1987. "Agriculture and Residential Site Structure among Campesinos in Southern Veracruz, Mexico: Building a Foundation for Archaeological Inference." Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.

———. 1992. "Residential Ethnoarchaeology and Ancient Site Structure: Contemporary Farming and Prehistoric Settlement Agriculture at Matacapan, Veracruz, Mexico." In *Gardens of Prehistory: The Archaeology of Settlement Agriculture in Greater Mesoamerica*, ed. T. W. Killion, 119–50. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Killion, T. W., I. Verhagen, D. Van Tourenhout, D. Triadan, L. Hamerlynck, M. McDermott, and J. Genoves. 1991. *Reporte de la Temporada 1991 del Recorrido Arqueológico Regional Petexbatún: Informe Preliminar #3, Tercera Temporada 1991.* Ed. A. Demarest, T. Inomata, H. Escobedo, and Joel Palka. Department of Anthropology, Vanderbilt University, Nashville.

Kintz, E. R. 1990. *Life under the Tropical Canopy: Tradition and Change among the Yucatec Maya.* Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

Klein, Cecelia. 1988a. "Rethinking Cihuacoatl: Aztec Political Imagery of the Conquered Woman." In *Smoke and Mist: Mesoamerican Studies in Memory of Thelma D. Sullivan*, ed. J. Kathryn Josserand and Karen Dakin, 237–77. BAR International Series 402, no. 1. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

———. 1988b. "Woven Heaven, Tangled Earth: A Weaver's Paradigm of the Mesoamerican Cosmos." In *Ethnoastronomy and Archaeoastronomy in the American Tropics*, ed. Anthony F. Aveni and Gary Urton, 1–35. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 385. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Knorozov, Yuri V. 1967. *Selected Chapters from "The Writing of the Maya Indians."* Trans. Sophie Coe. Russian Translation Series, 4. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Kocyba, Henryk K. 1989. "El dimorfismo sexual de las deidades en la religión maya del período postclásico." In *Memorias del II Coloquio Internacional de Mayistas*, vol. 2, 1301–31. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mayas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Kopytoff, I. 1990. "Women's Roles and Existential Identities." In *Beyond the Second Sex: New Directions in the Anthropology of Gender*, ed. P. R. Sanday and R. G. Goodenough, 77–98. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Koski, Linda I. 1997. "Women and the Oral Tradition in Tzotzil Tales of Highland Chiapas." In *Latin American Indian Literatures: Messages and Meanings*, ed. Mary H. Preuss, 3–7. Lancaster, Calif.: Labyrinthos.

Kowalski, Jeff Karl. 1989. "Who Am I among the Itzá? Links between Northern Yucatán and the Western Maya Lowlands and Highlands." In *Mesoamerica after the Decline of Teotihuacan A. D. 700–900*, ed. Richard A. Diehl and Janet C. Berlo, 173–86. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Kramer, Karen L. 1999a. "Production and Consumption among Maya Children: Implications to the Duration of Parental Care and Family Size." Paper presented at the 97th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Philadelphia.

———. 1999b. "Variation in Children's Work among Modern Maya Subsistence Agriculturalists." Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Kray, C. A. 1997. "Worship in Body and Spirit: Practice, Self, and Religious Sensibility in Yucatán, México." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Krochock, Ruth. 1988. "The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions and Iconography of Temple of the Four Lintels and Related Monuments, Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, México." M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin.

———. 1998. "The Development of Political Rhetoric at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, Mexico." Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Methodist University, Dallas.

Krochock, Ruth, and David A. Freidel. 1994. "Ballcourts and the Evolution of Political Rhetoric at Chichén Itzá." In *Hidden among the Hills: Maya Archaeology of the Northwest Yucatan Peninsula*, ed. Hanns J. Prem, 359–75. *Acta Mesoamericana*, vol. 7. Bonn: Verlag von Flemming, Möckmühl.

Kubler, George. 1962. *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

———. 1969. *Studies in Classic Maya Iconography*. Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 18. New Haven.

Landa, Diego de. 1978 [1566]. *Yucatan before and after the Conquest*. New York: Dover.

Lang, Sabine. 1998. *Men as Women, Women as Men: Changing Gender in Native American Cultures*. Trans. John L. Vantine. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Lawrence, S. 1999. "Towards a Feminist Archaeology of Households: Gender and Household Structure on the Australian Goldfields." In *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. P. M. Allison, 121–41. London: Routledge.

LeCount, Lisa J., Richard M. Levanthal, Wendy Ashmore, Glenn Russell, and Michael Gottesman. 1998. "New Dates and Old Issues: Radiocarbon and Obsidian Hydration Dating of Late and Terminal Classic Maya Ceramic Phases from Xunantunich, Belize." Paper presented at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Seattle.

Lekson, Stephen H. 1989. "Kivas?" In *The Architecture of Social Integration in Prehistoric Pueblos*, ed. William D. Lipe and Michelle Hegmon, 161–67. Occasional Paper, 1. Cortez, Colo.: Crow Canyon Archaeological Center.

Lentz, D. L. 1991. "Maya Diets of the Rich and Poor: Paleoethnobotanical Evidence from Copán." *Latin American Antiquity* 2: 269–87.

Lentz, D. P., Marilyn Beaudry-Corbett, M. L. Reyna de Aguilar, and L. Kaplan. 1996. "Foodstuffs, Forests, Fields, and Shelter: A Paleoethnobotanical Analysis of Vessel Contents from the Ceren Site, El Salvador." *Latin American Antiquity* 7: 247–62.

León, Juan de. 1945. *Mundo Quiché.* Guatemala City: Miscelenea.

León-Portilla, Miguel. 1963. *Aztec Thought and Culture.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Levy, Janet E. 1999. "Gender, Power, and Heterarchy in Middle-Level Societies." In *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology,* ed. Tracy L. Sweely, 62–78. London: Routledge.

Linares, Olga F. 1981. "From Tidal Swamp to Inland Valley: On the Social Organization of Wet Rice Cultivation among the Diola of Senegal." *Africa* 51, no. 2: 557–95.

———. 1985. "Cash Crops and Gender Constructs: The Jola of Senegal." *Ethnology* 24: 83–93.

Lincoln, Charles. 1990. "Ethnicity and Social Organization at Chichén Itzá." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

Lizana, Fray Bernaldino de. 1892. *Historia y Conquista Espiritual de Yucatán.* Mexico City: Imprenta del Museo Nacional.

Longyear, J. M. I. 1952. *Copan Ceramics: A Study of Southeastern Maya Pottery.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Looper, Matthew G. 1991. "The Dances of the Classic Maya Gods Chak and Hun Nal Ye." M.A. thesis, University of Texas, Austin.

———. 1992. *Creation Mythology at Naranjo.* Texas Notes on Precolumbian Art, Writing, and Culture, 30. Austin: CHAAAC.

———. 1995b. "The Three Stones of Maya Creation Mythology at Quiriguá." *Mexicon* 17, no. 2: 24–30.

———. 1995a. "The Sculpture Programs of Butz'-Tiliw, an Eighth-Century Maya King of Quiriguá, Guatemala." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Art and Art History, University of Texas at Austin.

Looper, Matthew G., and Julia Guernsey-Kappelman. 2000. "The Cosmic Umbilicus in Mesoamerica: A Floral Metaphor for the Source of Life." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 21, no. 1: 3–53.

López de Cogolludo, Fr. Diego. 1955 [1688]. *Historia de Yucatán, escrita en el siglo xvii.* Campeche: Comision de Historia.

Lounsbury, Floyd G. 1980. "Some Problems in the Interpretation of the Mythological Portion of the Hieroglyphic Text of the Temple of the Cross at Palenque." In *Third Palenque Round Table, 1978, Part 2,* ed. Merle Greene Robertson, 99–115. Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1985. "The Identities of the Mythological Figures in the Cross Group Inscriptions of Palenque." In *Fifth Palenque Round Table, 1983,* ed. Virginia M. Fields, 45–58. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

Love, Bruce. 1986. "Yucatec Maya Ritual: A Diachronic Perspective." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Low, S. M. 1995. "Indigenous Architecture and the Spanish American Plaza in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean." *American Anthropologist* 97, no. 4: 748–62.

Lucy, J. A. 1990. "Infrastructure Development and Changing Communication Patterns in a Mayan Village." Report prepared for the Mediated Communications Workshop at the Center for Psychosocial Studies, Chicago.

———. 1992. *Grammatical Categories and Cognition: A Case Study of the Linguistic Relativity Hypothesis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lucy, S. J. 1999. "Housewives, Warriors, and Slaves? Sex and Gender in Anglo-Saxon Burials." In *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology,* ed. Jenny Moore and E. Scott, 150–68. London: Leicester University Press.

Lundell, C. L. 1933. "The Agriculture of the Maya." *Southwest Review* 19: 65–77.

Marcus, Joyce. 1973. "Territorial Organization of the Lowland Classic Maya." *Science* 180: 911–16.

———. 1976. *Emblem and State in the Classic Maya Lowlands.* Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

———. 1982. "The Plant World of the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Lowland Maya." In *Maya Subsistence: Studies in Memory of Dennis E. Puleston,* ed. K. V. Flannery, 239–66. New York: Academic Press.

———. 1987. *The Inscriptions of Calakmul: Royal Marriage at a Royal Maya City in Campeche, Mexico.* University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology Technical Report, 21. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology.

———. 1992. *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 1995. "Where Is Lowland Maya Archaeology Going?" *Journal of Archaeological Research* 3: 3–53.

Marcus, Joyce, and K. Flannery. 1994. "Ancient Zapotec Ritual and Religion: An Application of the Direct Historical Approach." In *The Ancient Mind,* ed. C. Renfrew and E. Zubrow, 55–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1996. *Zapotec Civilization: How Urban Society Evolved in Mexico's Oaxaca Valley.* New York: Thames and Hudson.

Marquez, Lourdes, and A. del Angel. 1997. "Height among Prehispanic Maya of the Yucatan Peninsula: A Reconsideration." In *Bones of the Maya,* ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 51–61. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Martin, Simon. 1999. "The Queen of Middle Classic Tikal." *Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute Journal* 27: 4–5.

Martin, Simon, and Nikolai Grube. 2000. *Chronicle of Maya Kings and Queens: Deciphering the Dynasties of the Ancient Maya.* London: Thames and Hudson.

Martínez Peláez, Severo. 1977. *La sublevación de los zendales.* Chiapas: Universidad Autónoma de Chiapas, Tuxtla Gutiérrez.

Massey, Virginia, and D. G. Steele. 1997. "A Maya Skull Pit from the Terminal Classic Period, Colha, Belize." In *Bones of the Maya,* ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 62–77. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Mathews, Holly F. 1985. "'We Are Mayordomo': A Reinterpretation of Women's Roles in the Mexican Cargo System." *American Ethnologist* 12: 285–301.

Mathews, Peter. 1980. "Notes on the Dynastic Sequence of Bonampak, Part I." In *Third Palenque Round Table, 1978, Part 2*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, 60–73. Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1993. "The Royal Names of the Palenque Dynasty." In *Notebook for the XVIIth Maya Hieroglyphic Workshop at Texas*, ed. Linda Schele and Peter Mathews, 93–95. Austin: Department of Art and Art History, the College of Fine Arts, the College of Liberal Arts, and the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.

———. N.d. "The Dynastic Sequence of Toniná." Unpublished MS.

Mathews, Peter, and Gordon W. Willey. 1991. "Prehistoric Polities of the Pasion Region: Hieroglyphic Texts and Their Archaeological Settings." In *Classic Maya Political History: Hieroglyphic and Archaeological Evidence*, ed. T. P. Culbert, 30–71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Maudslay, Alfred P. 1886. "Explorations of the Ruins and Site of Copan, Central America." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 8: 568–94.

———. 1889–1902. *Archaeology: Biologia Centrali-Americana*, 5 vols. London: R. H. Porter and Dulau.

McAnany, Patricia A. 1992a. "Agricultural Tasks and Tools: Patterns of Stone Tool Discard Near Prehistoric Maya Residences Bordering Pulltrouser Swamp, Belize." In *Gardens of Prehistory: The Archaeology of Settlement Agriculture in Greater Mesoamerica*, ed. Thomas W. Killion, 184–214. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

———. 1992b. "Theoretical Perspective on Elites and the Economic Transformation of Classic Period Maya Households." In *Understanding Economic Process*, ed. Patricia A. McAnany, 85–103. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

———. 1995. *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

McCafferty, S. D., and G. G. McCafferty. 1991. "Spinning and Weaving as Female Gender Identity in Post-Classic Mexico." In *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: An Anthology*, ed. M. B. Schevil, J. C. Berlo, and E. B. Dwyer, 19–44. New York: Garland.

———. 1994. "Engendering Tomb 7 at Monte Albán: Respinning an Old Yarn." *Current Anthropology* 35: 143–66.

———. 1999. "Handspinning in Pre-Columbian Mexico: A Functional Analysis of Archaeological Spinning Whorls." Unpublished MS.

———. 2000. "Textile Production in Postclassic Cholula, Mexico." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11: 39–54.

McGee, R. J. 1990. *Life, Ritual, and Religion among the Lacondon Maya*. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

McKee, B. R. 1999. "Household Archaeology and Cultural Formation Processes: Examples from the Cerén Site, El Salvador." In *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. P. M. Allison, 30–42. London: Routledge.

Meskell, L. 1999. *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class, etc. in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Michelon, O., ed. 1976. *Diccionario de San Francisco*, vol. 2. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verladsanstalt.

Milbrath, Susan. 1995. "Gender and Roles of Lunar Deities in Postclassic Central Mexico and Their Correlations with the Maya Area." *Estudios de Cultura Nahuatl* 25: 45–93.

———. 1996. "Postclassic Maya Metaphors for Lunar Motion." In *Eighth Palenque Round Table, 1993*, ed. Martha J. Macri and Jan McHargue, 379–91. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

———. 1999. *Star Gods of the Maya: Astronomy in Art, Folklore, and Calendars.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Miller, Arthur G. 1982. *On the Edge of the Sea: Mural Painting at Tancah-Tulum, Quintana Roo, Mexico.* Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

———. 1989. "Comparing Maya Image and Text." In *Word and Image in Maya Culture*, ed. William F. Hanks and Don S. Rice, 176–88. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Miller, Jeffrey. 1974. "Notes on a Stelae Pair Probably from Calakmul, Campeche, Mexico." In *Primera Mesa Redonda de Palenque, Part I*, ed. Merle Greene Robertson, 149–61. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School, Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

Miller, Mary Ellen. 1985. "Tikal, Guatemala: A Rationale for the Placement of the Funerary Pyramids." *Expedition* 27, no. 3: 6–15.

———. 1986. *The Murals of Bonampak.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Miller, Virginia, ed. 1988. *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Molloy, John P., and William J. Rathje. 1974. "Sexploitation among the Late Classic Maya." In *Mesoamerican Archaeology: New Approaches*, ed. Norman Hammond, 431–44. London: Duckworth.

Montgomery, John. 1997. "Sculptors and Style at Piedras Negras, Guatemala." In *Proceedings of the 1995 and 1996 Latin American Symposia*, 67–80. San Diego Museum Papers, 34. San Diego: San Diego Museum of Man.

Moran, Fray Pedro. 1935. *Arte y diccionario en lengua cholti: A Manuscript Copied from the Libro Grande of Fr. Pedro Moran, of about 1625.* Facsimile. The Maya Society Publication, 9. Baltimore: The Maya Society.

Morley, S. G. 1920. *The Inscriptions at Copan.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 219. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Morris, William F., Jr. 1984. *A Millennium of Weaving in Chiapas.* San Cristóbal de las Casas: Sna Jolobil.

———. 1985. "Flowers, Saints, and Toads: Modern Maya Textile Design Symbolism." *National Geographic Research* 1: 63–79.

———. 1986. "Maya Time Warps." *Archaeology* 39, no. 3: 52–59.

———. 1987. *Living Maya.* New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Mukhopadhyay, C. C., and P. J. Higgins. 1988. "Anthropological Studies of Women's Status Revisited: 1977–1987." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 17: 461–95.

Murdock, G. P., and C. Provost. 1973. "Factors in the Division of Labor by Sex: A Cross-Cultural Analysis." *Ethnology* 12: 203–25.

Nash, June. 1970. *In the Eyes of the Ancestors.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

———. 1993. "Maya Household Production in the World Market: The Potters of Amatenango del Valle, Chiapas, Mexico." In *Crafts in the World Market*, ed. June Nash, 127–54. Albany: State University of New York Press.

———. 1997. "Gendered Deities and the Survival of Culture." *History of Religions* 36: 324–33.

Nations, J. D., and R. B. Nigh. 1980. "The Evolutionary Potential of Lacandon Maya Sustained-Yield Tropical Forest Agriculture." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 36, no. 1: 1–30.

Neff, L. T. 1995. "Dissertation Research: Precolumbian Maya Terracing in the Xunantunich Area, Belize, Central America." Proposal submitted to the National Science Foundation.

———. 1998a. "Pre-Columbian Lowland Maya Population Dynamics and Intensive Terrace Agriculture in the Xunantunich Area, Belize, Central America." Paper presented at the 97th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Philadelphia.

———. 1998b. "Pre-Columbian Terrace Agriculture in the Maya Lowlands: Initial Results from Investigations in the Dos Chombitos Region, Belize, Central America." Paper presented at the 61st Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, New Orleans.

———. N.d. "The Archaeology of Agricultural Intensification: A Study of Precolumbian Maya Agricultural Terracing in the Dos Chombitos Area, Belize." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Neff, L. T., and C. H. Gifford. 1996. "New Directions in Terrace Research: Results and Interpretation from the Xunantunich Settlement Survey, Belize, Central America." Paper presented at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Seattle.

Neff, L. T., C. Robin, K. Schwartz, and M. K. Morrison. 1995. "The Xunantunich Settlement Survey." In *Xunantunich Archaeological Project: 1995 Season,* ed. R. M. Leventhal and W. Ashmore, 139–63. Los Angeles: Belmopan.

Nelson, S. M. 1993. "Gender Hierarchy and the Queens of Silla." In *Sex and Gender Hierarchies,* ed. Barbara Diane Miller, 297–315. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1997. *Gender in Archaeology: Analyzing Power and Prestige.* Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press.

Netting, R. M. 1977. "Maya Subsistence: Mythologies, Analogies, Possibilities." In *The Origins of Maya Civilization,* ed. R. E. W. Adams, 299–333. Albuquerque: School of American Research, University of New Mexico Press.

Neuenswander, Helen. 1981. "Vestiges of Early Maya Time Concepts in a Contemporary Maya (Cubulco Achi) Community: Implications for Epigraphy." *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 13: 125–63.

Nichols, S. L. 2000. "Production Intensification and Regional Specialization: Maguey Fibers and Textiles in the Aztec City-State of Otumba." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11: 267–91.

Nutini, Hugo. 1961. "Clan Organization in a Nahuatl-speaking Village of the State of Tlaxcala, Mexico." *American Anthropologist* 63: 62–78.

Olivares, Nora M. 1997. "Cultural Odontology: Dental Alterations from Peten, Guatemala." In *Bones of the Maya,* ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 105–15. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Osborne, Lilly De Jongh. 1965. *Indian Crafts of Guatemala and El Salvador.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Palerm, A. 1967. "Agricultural Systems and Food Patterns." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. 6: Social Anthropology,* ed. R. Wauchope, 26–51. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Palka, Joel. 1998. "Lacandon Maya Culture Change and Survival in Frontier of Expanding

Guatemalan and Mexican States." In *Studies in Culture Contact,* ed. J. Cusick, 457–75. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

———. 1999. "Classic Maya Parentage and Social Structure with Insights on Ancient Gender Ideology." In *From the Ground Up: Beyond Gender Theory in Archaeology,* ed. N. Wicker and B. Arnold, 40–48. BAR International Series, 812. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parsons, M. H. 1972. *Spindle Whorls from the Teotihuacán Valley, Mexico.* Anthropological Papers, 45. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology.

———. 1975. "The Distribution of Late Postclassic Spindle Whorls in the Valley of Mexico." *American Antiquity* 40: 207–15.

Parsons, J. R., and M. H. Parsons. 1990. *Maguey Utilization in Highland Central Mexico: An Archaeological Ethnography.* Anthropology Papers, 82. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology.

Patch, Robert W. 1993. *Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1648–1812.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Paul, Lois. 1974. "The Mastery of Work and the Mystery of Sex in a Guatemalan Village." In *Woman, Culture, and Society,* ed. Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, 281–99. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Paxton, Merideth. 1986. "Codex Dresden: Stylistic and Iconographic Analysis of a Maya Manuscript." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Art History, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Perera, V., and R. D. Bruce. 1982. *The Lacandon Mayas of the Mexican Rain Forest.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Peterson, Jeanette Favrot. 1993. *The Paradise Garden Murals of Malinalco: Utopia and Empire in Sixteenth-Century Mexico.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Pohl, John, and Bruce Byland. 1990. "Mixtec Landscape Perception and Archaeological Settlement Patterns." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1, no. 1: 113–31.

Pohl, Mary. 1976. "Ethnozoology of the Maya: An Analysis of Fauna from Five Sites in the Peten, Guatemala." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

———. 1983. "Maya Ritual Faunas: Vertebrate Remains from Burials, Caches, Caves, and Cenotes in the Maya Lowlands." In *Civilization in the Ancient Americas,* ed. R. Levanthal and A. Kolata, 55–104. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Pollock, H. E. D., R. L. Roys, T. Proskouriakoff, and A. L. Smith. 1950. *Mayapán, Yucatán, México.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 593. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Press, I. 1975. *Tradition and Adaptation: Life in a Modern Yucatec Maya Village.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Proskouriakoff, Tatiana. 1960. "Historical Implications of a Pattern of Dates at Piedras Negras, Guatemala." *American Antiquity* 25: 454–75.

———. 1961. "Portraits of Women in Maya Art." In *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology,* ed. Samuel K. Lothrop et al., 81–99. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

———. 1963. "Historical Data in the Inscriptions of Yaxchilán, Part I." *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 3: 149–67.

———. 1964. "Historical Data in the Inscriptions of Yaxchilán, Part II." *Estudios de Cultura* Maya 4: 177–201.

———. 1993. *Maya History.* Ed. Rosemary Joyce. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Pyburn, K. A. 1999. "Repudiating Witchcraft." In *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology,* ed. Tracy L. Sweely, 190–97. London: Routledge.

Quenon, Michel, and Genevieve Le Fort. 1997. "Rebirth and Resurrection in Maize God Iconography." In *The Maya Vase Book,* vol. 5, ed. Justin Kerr, 884–902. New York: Kerr and Associates.

Rathje, William L. 1983. "To the Salt of the Earth: Some Comments on Household Archaeology among the Maya." In *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns: Essays in Honor of Gordon R. Willey,* ed. Evon Z. Vogt and Richard M. Leventhal, 23–34. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press; and Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Raven, L. 1987. *Hands on Spinning.* Loveland, Colo.: Interweave Press.

Re Cruz, A. 1996. *The Two Milpas of Chan Kom: A Study of Socioeconomic and Political Transformations in a Maya Community.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Redfield, Robert. 1941. *The Folk Culture of Yucatán.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1950. *A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Redfield, Robert, and Alfonso Villa Rojas. 1934. *Chan Kom: A Maya Village.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 448. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

———. 1962. *Chan Kom: A Maya Village.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Reed, David M. 1998. "Ancient Maya Diet at Copan, Honduras." Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, Pittsburgh.

Reents-Budet, Dorie. 1994. *Painting the Maya Universe: Royal Ceramics of the Classic Period.* Durham: Duke University Press.

———. 1998. "Elite Maya Pottery and Artisans as Social Indicators." In *Craft and Social Identity,* ed. Cathy Lynn Costin and Rita P. Wright, 71–89. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, 8. Arlington, Va.: American Anthropological Association.

Reese, Kathryn Victoria. 1996. "Narratives of Power: Late Formative Public Architecture and Civic Center Design at Cerros, Belize." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

Reina, Ruben, and Robert M. Hill II. 1978. *The Traditional Pottery of Guatemala.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Restall, M. 1995. *Life and Death in a Maya Community: The Ixil Testaments of the 1760s.* Lancaster, Calif.: Labyrinthos.

———. 1997. *The Maya World: Yucatec Culture and Society 1550–1850.* Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rice, D. S. 1988. "Classic to Postclassic Maya Household Transitions in the Central Peten, Guatemala." In *Household and Community in the Mesoamerican Past,* ed. R. R. Wilk and W. A. Ashmore, 227–49. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Rice, Prudence. 1987. *Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1991. "Women and Prehistoric Pottery Production." In *The Archaeology of Gender: Pro-*

ceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference, ed. Dale Walde and Noreen D. Willows, 436–43. Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary.

Richards, J. 1992. "Anglo-Saxon Symbolism." In *The Age of Sutton Hoo,* ed. M. Carver, 131–47. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press.

Ringle, William M. 1990. "Who Was Who in Ninth Century Chichén Itzá?" *Ancient Mesoamerica* 1, no. 2: 233–43.

Robertson, Merle Green, Marjorie S. Rosenblum Scandizzo, and John R. Scandizzo. 1976. "Physical Deformities in the Ruling Lineage of Palenque and the Dynastic Implications." In *Art, Iconography and Dynastic History of Palenque, part 3: Proceedings of the Segunda Mesa Redonda de Palenque,* ed. Merle Green Robertson, 59–86. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

Robicsek, Francis, and Donald Hales. 1981. *The Maya Book of the Dead: The Ceramic Codex.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Art Museum.

Robin, Cynthia. 1998. "Where People Really Live: Methods for the Identification of Household Spaces and Activities." Paper presented at the 63d Annual Meeting of the Society of American Archaeology, Seattle, 26 March.

———. 1999. "Towards an Archaeology of Everyday Life: Maya Farmers of Chan Nòohol and Dos Chombitos Cik'in, Belize." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

———. 2000. "Kin and Gender in Classic Maya Society: A Case Study from Yaxchilán, Mexico." In *New Directions in Anthropological Kinship,* ed. Linda Stone, 204–28. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

———. 2001. "Peopling the Past: New Perspective on the Ancient Maya." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 98, no. 1: 18–21.

Robles C., Fernando, and Anthony P. Andrews. 1986. "A Review and Synthesis of Recent Postclassic Archaeology in Northern Yucatán." In *Late Lowland Maya Civilization, Classic to Postclassic,* ed. Jeremy A. Sabloff and E. Wyllis Andrews V, 53–98. Albuquerque: School of American Research/University of New Mexico Press.

Romney, A. Kimball. 1967. "Kinship and Family." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. 6: Social Anthropology,* ed. Robert Wauchope and Manning Nash, 202–37. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Roscoe, Will. 1998. *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Roys, Ralph. 1943. *The Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 596. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

———. 1962. *Literary Sources for the History of Mayapán.* Mayapán, Yucatán, México, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 619. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

———. 1967. *The Book of the Chilam Balam of Chumayel.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Ruppert, Karl. 1952. *Chichén Itzá: Architectural Notes and Plans.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 595. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Ruppert, Karl, and John H. Denison Jr. 1943. *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Campeche, Quintana*

Roo, and Peten. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 543. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Ruppert, Karl, J. Eric S. Thompson, and Tatiana Proskouriakoff. 1955. *Bonampak, Chiapas, Mexico.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 602. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Sabloff, Jeremy A., and Wendy Ashmore. 2001. "An Aspect of Archaeology's Recent Past and Its Relevance in the New Millennium." In *Archaeology at the Millennium: A Sourcebook,* ed. Gary M. Feinman and T. Douglas Price. New York: Plenum.

Sahagún, Bernardino de. 1950–82 [1559–85]. *Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain.* Trans. C. E. Dibble and A. J. D. Anderson. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press; and Santa Fe: School of American Research.

———. 1997. *Primeros Memoriales.* Paleography of Nahuatl text and trans. Thelma D. Sullivan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Sanday, P. R. 1981. *Female Power and Male Dominance: On the Origins of Sexual Inequality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sanders, W. T., ed. 1986. *Excavaciones en el Área Urbana de Copán,* vols. 1–3. Tegucigalpa: Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia.

Saul, Julie M., and F. Saul. 1997. "Preclassic Skeletons from Cuello." In *Bones of the Maya,* ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 28–50. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Schapiro, Meyer. 1953. "Style." In *Anthropology Today,* ed. A. L. Kroeber, 287–312. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schele, Linda. 1979. "Genealogical Documentation of the Tri-Figure Panels at Palenque." In *Tercera Mesa Redonda de Palenque,* vol. 4, ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Donnan Call Jeffers, 41–70. Palenque: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

———. 1989. *A Brief Commentary on the Top of Altar Q.* Copan Note, 66. Austin: Copan Acropolis Project and the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia.

Schele, Linda, and David Freidel. 1990. *A Forest of Kings: The Untold Story of the Ancient Maya.* New York: Morrow.

Schele, Linda, and Nikolai Grube. 1997. *Notebook for the XXIst Maya Hieroglyphic Forum at Texas.* Austin: University of Texas.

Schele, Linda, Nikolai Grube, and Erik Boot. 1995. *Some Suggestions on the* Katun *Prophecies in the* Books of Chilam Balam *in Light of Classic-Period History.* Texas Notes on Precolumbian Art, Writing, and Culture, 72. Austin: University of Texas.

Schele, Linda, and Matthew G. Looper. 1996. *Workbook for the 20th Maya Hieroglyphic Forum.* Austin: Department of Art and Art History, the College of Fine Arts, and the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas.

Schele, Linda, and Peter Mathews. 1991. "Royal Visits and Other Intersite Relationships among the Classic Maya." In *Classic Maya Political History: Hieroglyphic and Archaeological Evidence,* ed. T. P. Culbert, 226–52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1998. *The Code of Kings.* New York: Scribner.

Schele, Linda, Peter Mathews, and Floyd Lounsbury. 1977. "Parentage Expressions in Classic Maya Inscriptions." Unpublished MS.

Schele, Linda, and Mary Ellen Miller. 1986. *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art.* Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum; and New York: George Braziller.

Schellhas, P. 1904. *Representations of Deities of the Maya Manuscripts.* Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology Paper 4, no. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Schiefflin, Edward L. 1985. "Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality." *American Ethnologist* 12, no. 4: 707–24.

Schultze Jena, Leonhard. 1946. *La vida y las creencias de los indígenas quichés de Guatemala.* Publicaciones especiales, 1. Guatemala City: Instituto Indigenista Nacional.

Schwartz, N. B. 1990. *Forest Society: A Social History of Petén, Guatemala.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Scott, E. M. 1994. *Those of Little Note: Gender, Race, and Class in Historical Archaeology.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Sedat, D. W., and F. Lopez. 2000. "Early Stages in the Formation of the Copan Acropolis." Paper presented at "Understanding Early Classic Copan," org. E. Bell, M. Canuto, and R. Sharer, 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 5–9 April, Philadelphia.

Seler, Eduard. 1904. "The Mexican Chronology, with Special Reference to the Zapotec Calendar." In *Mexican and Central American Antiquities, Calendar Systems, and History,* ed. Charles P. Bowditch, 11–55. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, 28. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology.

Shafer, Harry J. 1983. "The Lithic Artifacts of the Pulltrouser Area: Settlements and Fields." In *Pulltrouser Swamp: Ancient Maya Habitat, Agriculture, and Settlement in Northern Belize,* ed. B. L. Turner II and Peter D. Harrison, 212–45. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Shafer, Harry J., and T. R. Hester. 1983. "Ancient Maya Chert Workshops in Northern Belize, Central America." *American Antiquity* 48: 519–43.

Sharer, R. J. 1994. *The Ancient Maya,* 5th edition. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

———. 2000. "Early Classic Copan and Mesoamerican Interaction." Paper presented at "Understanding Early Classic Copan," org. E. Bell, M. Canuto, and R. Sharer, 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 5–9 April, Philadelphia.

Sharer, R. J., J. C. Miller, and L. P. Traxler. 1992. "Evolution of Classic Period Architecture in the Early Acropolis, Copán: A Progress Report." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 3: 145–59.

Sharer, R. J., W. L. Fash, D. W. Sedat, L. P. Traxler, and R. Williamson. 1999a. "Continuities and Contrasts in the Early Classic Architecture of Central Copan." In *Mesoamerican Architecture as Cultural Symbol,* ed. J. K. Kowalski, 220–49. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sharer, R. J., L. P. Traxler, D. W. Sedat, E. E. Bell, M. A. Canuto, and C. Powell. 1999b. "Early Classic Architecture beneath the Copan Acropolis: A Research Update." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 10: 3–23.

Shaw, Leslie. 1999. "Social and Ecological Aspects of Preclassic Maya Meat Consumption at Colha, Belize." In *Reconstructing Ancient Maya Diet,* ed. C. White, 83–102. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Sheets, P. D. 1992. *The Ceren Site: A Prehistoric Village Buried by Volcanic Ash in Central America.* Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Sherzer, Joel. 1987. "The Discourse-Centered Approach to Language and Culture." *American Anthropologist* 89: 295–309.

Siegel, Morris. 1941. "Religion in Western Guatemala: A Product of Acculturation." *American Anthropologist* 43: 62–76.

Silverblatt, Irene. 1991. "Interpreting Women in States: New Feminist Ethnohistories." In *Gender at the Crossroads of Knowledge: Feminist Anthropology in the Postmodern Era*, ed. Micaela DiLeonardo, 140–71. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Smith, A. Ledyard. 1972. *Excavations at Altar de Sacrificios: Architecture, Settlement, Burials, and Caches.* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 62, no. 2. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Smith, Robert Elliot. 1971. *The Pottery of Mayapan, Including Studies of the Ceramic Material from Uxmal, Kabah, and Chichén Itzá.* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 75. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Smyth, Michael P. 1988. "Domestic Storage Behavior in the Puuc Region of Yucatan, Mexico: An Ethnoarchaeological Investigation." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

Smyth, Michael P., C. D. Dore, and N. P. Dunning. 1995. "Interpreting Prehistoric Settlement Patterns: Lessons from the Maya Center of Sayil, Yucatán." *Journal of Field Archaeology* 22: 321–47.

Spector, Janet D., and Mary K. Whelan. 1989. "Incorporating Gender into Archaeology Courses." In *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching*, ed. Sandra Morgan, 65–94. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

Spence, Michael. 1996. "Commodity or Gift: Teotihuacan Obsidian in the Maya Region." *Latin American Antiquity* 7, no. 1: 21–40.

Spencer-Wood, S. M. 1999. "The World Their Household: Changing Meanings of the Domestic Sphere in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Archaeology of Household Activities*, ed. P. M. Allison, 162–89. London: Routledge.

Spinden, Herbert J. 1913. *A Study of Maya Art.* New York: Dover Publications.

Squire, E. G. 1858. *The States of Central America.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

Stark, Barbara L. 1985. "Archaeological Identification of Pottery Production Locations: Ethno-archaeological and Archaeological Data in Mesoamerica." In *Decoding Prehistoric Ceramics*, ed. B. A. Nelson, 158–94. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Steggerda, M. 1941. *Maya Indians of Yucatán.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 531. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Stephens, John L. 1841. *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan*, vol. 1. Illustrations by Frederick Catherwood. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.

Stevenson, Matilda Coxe. 1901–02. "The Zuni Indians." *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 23: 37–38.

Stone, Andrea J. 1985. "The Moon Goddess at Naj Tunich." *Mexicon* 7, no. 2: 23–29.

———. 1988. "Sacrifice and Sexuality: Some Structural Relationships in Classic Maya Art." In *The Role of Gender in Pre-Columbian Art and Architecture*, ed. Virginia E. Miller, 75–103. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

———. 1990. "The Two Faces of Eve: The Grandmother and the Unfaithful Wife as a

Paradigm in Maya Art." Paper presented at the 89th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans.

———. 1991. "Aspects of Impersonation in Classic Maya Art." In *Sixth Palenque Round Table, 1986,* ed. Virginia M. Fields, 194–202. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. 1995. *Images from the Underworld: Naj Tunich and the Tradition of Maya Cave Painting.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Stone, G. D. 1991. "Settlement Ethnoarchaeology: Changing Patterns among the Kofyaro, Nigeria." *Expedition* 33, no. 1: 16–23.

Stone, G. D., and C. E. Downum. 1999. "Non-Boserupian Ecology and Agricultural Risk: Ethnic Politics and Land Control in the Arid Southwest." *American Anthropologist* 101, no. 1: 113–28.

Stone, M. Priscilla, Glenn Davis Stone, and Robert McC. Netting. 1995. "The Sexual Division of Labor in Kofyar Agriculture." *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 1: 165–86.

Stromsvik, G. 1941. *Sub-stela Caches and Stela Foundations at Copan and Quirigua.* Contributions to American Anthropology and History, 37, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 528. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Stuart, David. 1985. "The Inscription on Four Shell Plaques from Piedras Negras, Guatemala." In *The Fourth Palenque Round Table, 1980,* ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Elizabeth Benson, 175–84. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

———. 1996. "Kings of Stone: A Consideration of Stelae in Ancient Maya Ritual and Representation." *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 29–30: 149–71.

———. 1997. "Kinship Terms in Maya Inscriptions." In *The Language of Maya Hieroglyphs,* ed. Martha J. Macri and Anabel Ford, 1–11. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

———. 1998. " 'The Fire Enters His House': Architecture and Ritual in Classic Maya Texts." In *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture,* ed. Stephen D. Houston, 373–425. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

———. 2000a. " 'The Arrival of Strangers': Teotihuacan and Tollan in Classic Maya History." In *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs,* ed. D. Carrasco, L. Jones, and S. Sessions, 465–514. Boulder: University of Colorado Press.

———. 2000b. "K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo' and the Early History of Copan." Paper presented at "Understanding Early Classic Copan," org. E. Bell, M. Canuto, and R. Sharer, 65th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, 5–9 April, Philadelphia.

Stuart, David, Stephen Houston, and John Robertson. 1999. *Recovering the Past: Classic Mayan Language and Classic Maya Gods.* Workbook for the 23rd Linda Schele Forum on Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. Austin: University of Texas.

Stuart, David, and Linda Schele. 1986. *Yax-K'uk-Mo', the Founder of the Lineage of Copán.* Copán Note, 6. Austin: Copan Acropolis Project and the Instituto Hondureño de Antropología e Historia.

Stuart, George. 1997. "The Royal Tombs of Copán." *National Geographic* 192, no. 6: 68–93.

Suhler, Charles. 1996. "Excavations at the North Acropolis, Yaxuna, Yucatan, Mexico." Ph.D. dissertation, Southern Methodist University, Dallas.

Suhler, Charles, and David Freidel. 1993. *The Selz Foundation Yaxuna Project: Final Report of the 1992 Field Season.* Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press.

———. 1998. "Life and Death in a Maya War Zone." *Archaeology* 51, no. 3: 28–35.

Suhler, Charles, Traci Ardren, and David Johnstone. 1998. "The Chronology of Yaxuna: Evidence from Excavation and Ceramics." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 9: 167–82.

Sullivan, Thelma D. 1976. *Compendio de la Gramática Náhuatl.* Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas Monografías, 18. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

———. 1982. "Tlazolteotl-Ixcuina: The Great Spinner and Weaver." In *The Art and Iconography of Late Post-Classic Central Mexico*, ed. Elizabeth Boone, 7–35. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

Sweely, Tracy L. 1998. "Personal Interactions: The Implications of Spatial Arrangements for Power Relations at Cerén, El Salvador." *World Archaeology* 29: 393–406.

———. 1999. "Gender, Space, People and Power at Cerén, El Salvador." In *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweely, 155–72. London: Routledge.

Taggart, James M. 1990. *Enchanted Maidens: Gender Relations in Spanish Folktales of Courtship and Marriage.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Tarn, Nathaniel, and Martin Prechtel. 1986. "Constant Inconstancy: The Feminine Principle in Atiteco Mythology." In *Symbol and Meaning beyond the Closed Community: Essays in Mesoamerican Ideas*, ed. Gary H. Gossen, 173–84. Albany: Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, State University of New York.

Tate, Carolyn. 1985. "Summer Solstice Events in the Reign of Bird Jaguar III of Yaxchilán." *Estudios de Cultura Maya* 16: 85–112.

———. 1987. "The Royal Women of Yaxchilán." In *Memorias del Primer Coloquio Internacional de Mayistas, 5–10 de Agosto de 1985*, 807–26. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

———. 1992. *Yaxchilán: The Design of a Maya Ceremonial City.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1999. "Writing on the Face of the Moon: Women's Products, Archetypes, and Power in Ancient Maya Civilization." In *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*, ed. Tracy L. Sweely, 81–102. London: Routledge.

Taube, Karl. 1985. "The Classic Maya Maize God: A Reappraisal." In *Fifth Palenque Round Table*, vol. 7, ed. M. G. Robertson, 171–83. Pebble Beach, Calif.: Robert Louis Stevenson School.

———. 1989a. "The Maize Tamale in Classic Maya Diet, Epigraphy, and Art." *American Antiquity* 54: 31–51.

———. 1989b. "Ritual Humor in Classic Maya Religion." In *Word and Image in Maya Culture*, ed. William F. Hanks and Don S. Rice, 351–82. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

———. 1992. *The Major Gods of Ancient Yucatan.* Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology, 32. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks.

———. 1994. "The Birth Vase: Natal Imagery in Ancient Maya Myth and Ritual." In *The Maya Vase Book*, vol. 4, ed. Justin Kerr, 652–85. New York: Kerr Associates.

Tax, Sol. 1963. *Penny Capitalism: A Guatemalan Indian Economy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Taylor, Dicey. 1992. "Painted Ladies: Costume for Women on Tepeu Ceramics." In *The Maya Vase Book*, vol. 3, ed. Justin Kerr, 513–25. New York: Kerr Associates.

Tedlock, Barbara. 1982. *Time and the Highland Maya.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1985. "Hawks, Meteorology and Astronomy in Quiché-Maya Agriculture." *Archaeoastronomy* 8: 80–88.

Tedlock, Barbara, and Dennis Tedlock. 1985. "Text and Textile: Language and Technology in the Arts of the Quiché Maya." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 41: 121–46.

Tedlock, Dennis. 1983. *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 1985. *Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Thomas, Larissa. 1997. "Hoe Production and Household Production at Dillow's Ridge: Gender Division of Labor and the Place of Production for Exchange in Mississippian Economy." Ph.D. dissertation, Binghamton University, New York.

Thompson, J. Eric S. 1930. *Ethnology of the Mayas of Southern and Central British Honduras.* Field Museum of Natural History Publication, 274. Anthropological Series 17, no. 2. Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History.

———. 1937. *A New System for Deciphering Yucatecan Dates with Special Reference to Chichén Itzá.* Contributions to American Archaeology, 22, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 483. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

———. 1939. *The Moon Goddess in Middle America with Notes on Related Deities.* Contributions to American Anthropology and History, Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 5, no. 29. Washington, D.C.: Carneigie Institution of Washington.

———. 1950. *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: An Introduction.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 589. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

———. 1958. "Symbols, Glyphs, and Divinatory Almanacs for Diseases in the Maya Dresden and Madrid Codices." *American Antiquity* 23: 297–308.

———. 1970. *Maya History and Religion.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

———. 1972. *A Commentary on the Dresden Codex: A Maya Hieroglyphic Book.* Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 93. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Torquemada, Juan de. 1975–83 [1615]. *Monarquía Indiana,* 7 vols. Coord. M. Leon-Portilla. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Historicas, Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México.

Tozzer, Alfred M. 1907. *A Comparative Study of the Mayas and the Lacandones.* New York: Archaeological Institute of America.

———. 1941. *Landa's Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatán.* Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 28. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Treacy, J. M., and W. M. Denevan. 1994. "The Creation of Cultivable Land through Terracing." In *The Archaeology of Garden and Field,* ed. N. F. Miller and K. L. Gleason, 91–110. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Tringham, Ruth. 1991. "Households with Faces: The Challenge of Gender in Prehistoric Architectural Remains." In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory,* ed. Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, 93–131. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Turner, B. L., II. 1974. "Prehistoric Intensive Agriculture in the Mayan Lowlands." *Science* 185: 118–24.

———. 1978. "Ancient Agricultural Land Use in the Central Maya Lowlands." In *Prehispanic Maya Agriculture,* ed. P. D. Harrison and B. L. Turner II, 163–84. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

———. 1979. "Prehispanic Terracing in the Central Maya Lowlands: Problems of Agricultural Intensification." In *Maya Archaeology and Ethnohistory,* ed. Norman Hammond and Gordon R. Willey, 103–15. Austin: University of Texas Press.

———. 1983. *Once beneath the Forest: Prehistoric Terracing in the Rio Bec Region of the Maya Lowlands.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

———. 1992. "Summary and Critique." In *Gardens of Prehistory: The Archaeology of Settlement Agriculture in Greater Mesoamerica,* ed. T. W. Killion, 263–73. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.

Turner, B. L., and W. E. Doolittle. 1977. "The Concept and Measure of Agricultural Intensity." *Professional Geographer* 3: 297–301.

Turner, B. L., R. Q. Hanham, and A. V. Portararo. 1977. "Population Pressure and Agricultural Intensity." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 37: 384–96.

Urban, Greg. 1991. *A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture: Native South American Myths and Rituals.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Vail, Gabrielle. 1996. "The Gods in the Madrid Codex: An Iconographic and Glyphic Analysis." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Tulane University, New Orleans.

———. 2000. "Prehispanic Maya Religion: Conceptions of Divinity in the Postclassic Maya Codices." *Ancient Mesoamerica* 11, no. 1: 123–47.

Valdés, J. A., Federico Fahsen, and Héctor L. Escobedo. 1999. *Reyes, Tumbas y Palacios: La historia dinástica de Uaxactun.* Cuadernos del Centro de Estudios Mayas, 25. Mexico City: U.N.A.M., I.A.H.G, México–Guatemala.

VandenBosch, J. C. 1999. "Lithic Economy and Household Interdependence among the Late Classic Maya of Belize." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg.

Villacorta C., J. Antonio, and Carlos A. Villacorta. 1976. *Códices mayas,* 2d edition. Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional.

Villagutierre Soto-Mayor, J. de. 1985 [1701]. *Historia de la Conquista de Itzá.* Ed. J. M. García. Madrid: Historia 16.

Villa Rojas, Alfonso. 1945. *The Maya of East Central Quintana Roo.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication, 559. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

———. 1969. "The Maya of Yucatan." In *Handbook of Middle American Indians, vol. 7, Ethnology,* ed. E. Vogt, 244–75. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Vogel, Melissa A. N.d. "Sacred Women in Ancient Peru: New Evidence for Elite Females in the 7th and 8th Centuries AD." In *The Quest for Queens,* ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson. Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press.

Vogt, Evon Z. 1969. *Zinacantan.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

———. 1971 [1964]. "The Genetic Model and Maya Cultural Development." In *Desarrollo Cultural de los Mayas,* 2d edition, ed. Evon Z. Vogt and Albert Ruz L., 9–48. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autonoma.

———. 1976. *Tortillas for the Gods: A Symbolic Analysis of Zinacanteco Rituals.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

von Euw, Eric, and Ian Graham. 1984. *Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, vol. 5, part 2: Xultún, La Honradéz, Uaxactún.* Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

von Simson, Otto. 1988 [1956]. *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order,* 3d edition. Bollingen Series, 48. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wagner, Elizabeth. 1995. "The Dates on the High Priest Grave ('Osario') Inscriptions, Chichen Itzá, Yucatán." *Mexicon* 17, no. 1: 10–13.

Walde, Dale, and Noreen D. Willows, eds. 1991. *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference.* Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary.

Walling, S. L., Jr. 1993. "Prehispanic Maya Settlement at Tibaat: A Residential Complex Associated with Raised- and Drained-Fields at Pulltrouser Swamp, Belize." Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans.

Warren, Kay B. 1998. *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Watson, Patty Jo, and Mary C. Kennedy. 1991. "The Development of Horticulture in the Eastern Woodlands of North America." In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory,* ed. Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, 255–75. Oxford: Blackwell.

Weiner, Annette B. 1989. "Why Cloth? Wealth, Gender, and Power in Oceania." In *Cloth and Human Experience,* ed. Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider, 33–72. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Welsh, W. B. M. 1988. *An Analysis of Classic Lowland Maya Burials.* BAR International Series, 409. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

West, R. C. 1948. *Cultural Geography of the Modern Taracan Area.* Institute of Social Anthropology Publication, 7. Washington, D.C. Smithsonian Institution.

White, Christine. 1988. "Diet and Health in the Ancient Maya at Lamanai, Belize." In *Diet and Subsistence: Current Archaeological Perspectives.* Proceedings of the Annual Chacmool Conference, 19. Calgary: Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary.

———. 1997. "Ancient Diet at Lamanai and Pacbitun: Implications for the Ecological Model of Collapse." In *Bones of the Maya,* ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 171–80. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

———, ed. 1999. *Reconstructing Ancient Maya Diet.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Whitehead, Harriet. 1981. "The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America." In *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality,* ed. Sherry B. Ortner and Harriet Whitehead, 80–115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Whittaker, John C. 1994. *Flintknapping: Making and Understanding Stone Tools.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Whittington, Stephen L. 1991. "Detection of Significant Demographic Differences between Subpopulations of Prehispanic Maya from Copan, Honduras, by Survival Analysis." *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 85, no. 2: 167–84.

Whittington, Stephen L., and D. Reed, eds. 1997. *Bones of the Maya.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Wilk, R. R. 1990. *Household Ecology: Economic Change and Domestic Life among Kekchi Maya in Belize.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.

Wilken, Gene C. 1987. *Good Farmers: Traditional Agricultural Resource Management in Mexico and Central America.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Willey, Gordon R. 1972. *The Artifacts of Altar de Sacrificios.* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 64, no. 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Willey, Gordon R., and R. M. Leventhal. 1979. "A Preliminary Report on the Prehistoric Settlement at Copan." In *Maya Archaeology and Ethnohistory,* ed. Norman Hammond and Gordon R. Willey, 75–102. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Willey, Gordon R., R. M. Leventhal, A. A. Demarest, and J. William L. Fash. 1994. *Ceramics and Artifacts from Excavations in the Copan Residential Zone.* Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 80. Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

Williams, Walter L. 1986. *The Spirit and the Flesh: Sexual Diversity in American Indian Culture.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Williamson, R. V. 1993. "Excavations, Interpretations, and Implications of the Earliest Structures beneath Structure 10L-26 at Copan, Honduras." In *Eighth Palenque Round Table, 1993,* ed. Martha J. Macri and Jan McHargue, 169–76. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

———. 1997. "Los Orígenes de la Complejidad Social en Copán: Excavaciones debajo de la Estructura 10L-26 en Copán, Honduras." *Yaxkin* 16: 31–39.

Winter, Diane. 1991. "A Study of the Fish-in-Hand Glyph, T714: Part 1." In *Sixth Palenque Round Table, 1986,* ed. Merle Greene Robertson and Virginia M. Fields, 233–54. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Wisdom, Charles. 1940. *The Chortí Indians of Guatemala.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wobst, H. M. 1978. "The Archeo-ethnology of the Hunter-Gatherers, or The Tyranny of the Ethnographic Record in Archaeology." *American Antiquity* 43: 303–09.

Wren, Linnea H. 1989. "Composition and Content in Maya Sculpture: A Study of Ballgame Scenes at Chichén Itzá, Yucatán, Mexico." In *Ethnographic Encounters in Southern Mesoamerica: Essays in Honor of Evon Zartman Vogt, Jr.,* ed. Victoria R. Bricker and Gary H. Gossen, 287–302. Studies on Culture and Society, vol. 3, Institute for Mesoamerican Studies, the University at Albany, State University of New York. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Wren, Linnea H., and Peter Schmidt. 1991. "Elite Interaction during the Terminal Classic Period: New Evidence from Chichén Itzá." In *Classic Maya Political History: Hieroglyphic and Archaeological Evidence,* ed. Patrick T. Culbert, 199–225. Cambridge: School of American Research/Cambridge University Press.

Wren, Linnea H., Peter Schmidt, and Ruth Krochock. 1989. *The Great Ball Court Stone of Chichen Itza.* Center for Maya Research, Research Reports in Ancient Maya Writing, 25. Washington, D.C.: Center for Maya Research.

Wright, Lori. 1997. "Ecology or Society? Paleodiet and the Collapse of the Pasion Maya Lowlands." In *Bones of the Maya,* ed. Stephen L. Whittington and D. Reed, 181–95. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

———. 2000. "Teeth from the Tombs: Diet and Identity at Kaminaljuyu." Paper presented at the 18th Annual Maya Weekend, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 30 March–2 April, Philadelphia.

Wright, Rita P. 1991. "Women's Labor and Pottery Production in Prehistory." In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory,* ed. Joan M. Gero and Margaret W. Conkey, 194–223. Oxford: Blackwell.

———, ed. 1996. *Gender and Archaeology: Essays in Research and Practice.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Wylie, A. 1985. "The Reaction against Analogy." *Advances in Archeological Method and Theory* 8: 63–111.

———. 1992. "The Interplay of Evidential Constraints and Political Interests: Recent Archaeological Research on Gender." *American Antiquity* 57: 15–35.

Yadeun, Juan. 1993. *Toniná.* Mexico City: Citybank.

Yaeger, Jason. 2000. "The Social Construction of Communities in the Classic Maya Countryside: Strategies of Affiliation in Western Belize." In *The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective,* ed. Marcello A. Canuto and Jason Yaeger, 123–42. New York: Routledge.

INDEX

Achi Maya, 224
Acna, 210
Adams, Richard E. W., 139
Africa, 13, 14, 15
agave, 57, 59
agriculture, x, xi, 12–30, 31–51; technology and, 12, 16, 28
Altar de Sacrificios, 73, 74, 80, 123, 139
Amatenango de Valle, ix, xi
Anayte, 108, 110, 112
ancestors, 77, 85, 100, 118, 120, 131, 141, 148, 182, 192–97
Andrews, Anthony P., 11
androcentric bias, ix
Anglo-Saxons, 69, 75
Aoyama, Kazuo, 45, 49
Arctic, 175
Ardren, Traci, vii–viii, 236–37, 239, 243
Ashmore, Wendy, 11, 26
astronomy, 204
Atiteco Tzutujil, 215, 219, 221, 224–25
Ayala Falcón, Maricela, ix, 233, 237–38
Aztecs, viii, 55, 65, 67, 181, 223, 241, 243

Bacabs, 101
Bachajon, 111
Ball, Joseph, 85
ball courts, 108–9, 112, 127, 136, 153, 160
Barton Ramie, 73, 74
Bassie-Sweet, 209
Batz'bal, Francisca, 225
Beaudry-Corbett, Marilyn, viii, 242–44
beekeeping, 216
bees, 215, 218, 221
Bell, Ellen E., x, 237, 242–43
Belize, 48, 154, 224
berdache, 174
Berlin, Heinrich, 114
birds, 218
birth, 53, 81, 85, 100–102, 144, 156, 184, 195, 215, 219
bloodletting, 129, 131, 141, 143, 153, 171, 192–94, 215, 217, 222
Bonampak, 7, 117, 121, *122*, 129, 139, 192
Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, 209
Boot, Eric, 164, 166
Boremanse, D., 21
Boserup, Esther, 13–14, 34
breasts, 173, 205, 220
Bricker, Victoria R., 200
Brisko, Jo Ann, 215
British Museum, 123
brocade, 209–10
Brown, L., 66
Bruhns, Karen Olsen, 8
Brumfiel, Elizabeth, 67, 241
Buddhist, 177
Buikstra, Jane, 94–95, 99
bundles, 81, 83, 99, 127, 129, 136
burials, viii, x, 4, 9, 26, 68–88, 89–104, 108,

118, 123, 148, 233, 238; artifacts in, viii, x
Butler, Judith, 69, 171, 173

cacao, 7, 222
Calakmul, 106, 109, 114, 117, 121, 127, *140*, 181
calendrical, 204
Campeche, 164
Cancun, 19
Candelaria, Maria, 111
captive, 196
Caracol, 155, 166
Carnegie Institution of Washington, 152
Carrasco V., Ramón, 114
Castellana, María, 225
Castellanos, Rosario, 111
Catholicism, 111
celebration, 216
ceramics, 200, 233
ceremonial contexts, 201, 226
ceremonial roles, 174–75
Ceren, Joya de, viii, 52–67, 99, 242–44
Chaak, 212, 221
Chak Chel, 53, 101, 112, 182, *206*, 211–12, *213*, *214*, 215, 220–26, 234
Chamá, 139
Chamula, xi, 36, 111
Chan Kom, 19, 37, 45
Chan Nòohol, 12–30
Chenalho, 70
Chesson, Meredith S., 10
Cheyenne, 175
Chiapas, ix, xi, 15, 18, 20, 36, 54, 105–6, 111–12, 120, 127, 129, 136, 176, 189, 203, 210, 224
Chichén Itzá, viii, 71, 152–70, 237, 238, 239, 241, 243
Chilam Balam, Books of, 165–68
child rearing, 220
childbearing, 224, 238–39
childbirth, 209–10, 221, 240, 242–43
childcare, xi, 14–15, 21, 40–42, 70
children, 1, 5, 10, 37, 41, 50, 67, 73–75, 81–82, 143–44, 147–48, 159, 161–62, 175, 180, 211, 216, 231, 238, 240
Cholula, 55, 61, 63
Ch'ol, xi, 120
Chontal Maya, 164
Ch'orti', 219
Chorti Maya, 100
Ciaramella, Mary, 10, 215
Cihuacoatl, 223–24
Clark, John E., 48, 78
cloth, 8–9, 52, 57, 86, 96–99, 103, 127–28, 138, 217, 241–42, 244
codices, ix, 34, 51, 101–2, 111, 204, 210, 215–16, 219–21, 226, 230, 234, 240; Bodley, 80; Dresden, 40, 49, 203, 217–21; Grolier, 217; Madrid, 40, 49, 203, 215, 217–22; Maya, 203; Paris, 203, 217
Coe, Michael D., 11
Coggins, Clemency C., 148
Cogolludo, López de, 209
Cohen, Mark Nathan, 10
Colel Cab, 209
Colha, 73
colonialism, 238, 244
complementarity, viii, 8, 9, 19, 70, 86, 87, 104, 119, 127, 139, 181, 184, 191, 221, 235–37, 241–42
conception, 219
conjunctive approach, x, 5, 51, 229
Conkey, Margaret, 13
Copan, x, 9, 46, 74, 89–104, 106, 117, 139, 148, 171, 173, 178, 180, 194, 235, 237, 239, 242–43
Cordry, D.B. and D.M., 54
corn. *See* maize
cornfield, 241
Cosmic Monster, 189, 198, 199
cosmology, 4, 9, 10, 80, 87, 95–96, 102–3, 109, 129, 173–74, 241, 243
costume, 9, 21, 24, 76, 97, 118, 129, 136, 149, 171, 173, 176, 194, 196, 200, 209, 235

cotton, 53–54, 57, 60–63, 65, 67, 101, 105, 143, 217, 244
Cowgill, George, 68, 87
Coxolxauhqui, 112
Cozumel, 209
Cuello, 73–74, 234
Culhuacan, ix

Danforth, Marie Elaine, 10, 73
De las Casas, Bartolomé, 176
death, 223
deer, 78–81, 87, 100, 103, 236
deities, viii, 10, 52, 95–96, 103, 109, 111, 156, 173, 176, 184, 192, 195, 200, 204–5, 217, 220–21, 233–34, 242
Diaz del Castillo, ix, 105
divination, 209, 212, 218
division of labor, 216, 236, 241, 244
Dos Chombitos, x, 24, 25, 31–51
Dos Pilas, viii, 1, 4, 117, 139, 143, 155, 193
Dzitas, 37

Eber, Christine, 70
El Peru, 139
El Zapote, 178
Eleanor of Aquitaine, 238
Ember, Carol R., 41
emblem glyphs, 7, 110
embroidery, 210
enamel hypoplasis, 74
epigraphy, vii, 6, 70, 86, 89, 109, 114–51, 152–70, 177, 204, 230
essentialism, 69
ethnographic analogy, 12, 17, 29, 35, 55, 240
ethnography, x, 32, 34, 39, 42–43, 45, 51, 61, 115, 118, 141, 209, 211, 216, 220–21, 224, 227, 230–31, 234
ethnohistory, x, 32, 34, 42–43, 51, 70, 101, 203–5, 209, 216, 220–21, 230–31, 233–34, 240
European, 241

feather, 216, 222
feminist theory, xii, 13, 229, 232, 244
figurines, 23, 85, 240
food preparation, 216–17, 233
food production, 9, 23, 26, 28, 41–42, 52, 70, 73, 219, 239
Freidel, David A., viii, 10–11, 71, 106, 109, 153, 155–56, 177, 198

Garcia Valencia, E.H., 55
Geller, Pamela, 234
Gero, Joan, 45
Gerry, John P., 10
Gillespie, Susan D., 238
God L, 193, 200, 205, 209
Goddess I, 101–2, *208*, 210–11, *213*, 215, 218, 220, 223, 234, 243. *See also* Ixik Kab
Goddess O, 101–2, 108, 109, 110, 210, 234, 238, 243. *See also* Chak Chel, Moon Goddess
Godoy, Lorenzo, 107
Gómez Checheb, Agustina, 111
Grolier codex, 203
Grube, Nikolai, 10, 92, 148, 155, 164, 166, 210
Guatemala, ix, 37, 45, 66, 95, 100, 127, 195, 210–11, 215, 219, 224
Guyer, Jane, 15, 17

hair, 85, 182, 200, 220, 225; hairstyles, 205, 209
Hammond, Norman, 139
Haviland, William, 10, 126
healing, 242
health, 10, 72–75, 118
hematite, 63, 74–75
Hendon, Julia, 9
Hewitt, Erika, 10
Honduras, 100
honey, 221–22
honeybee, 209
households, 5, 9, 52–67
Houston, Stephen H., 78
Huipiles, 6, 100, 128–29, 171, 183, 205, 240, 171
hummingbird, 100

hunting, 35, 81, 120, 175, 215–16, 218, 220
hunters, 23

ideology, 40
Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 107
Isla Cerritos, 80, 154
isotopic analysis of bone, 72, 95, 99, 103
Itzá Maya, 111, *154*, 155, 164–67, 169, 241
Itzamna, 182, 186, 212, 220–22
Ix Azal Uoh, 209
Ix Chekel (Chebel?) Yax, 209
Ix Chel, 101, 209–10, 212, 215, 232, 234. *See also* Chak Chel
Ix Hunie, 209
Ix Hunieta, 209
Ix Mol, 222
Ixik Kab, 101, *207*, 210, 215, 218–22, 225–26
Izamal, 162

Jacobi, Keith, 10
jade, 7, 74, 81, 86, 94, 96–97, 101–2, 108, 139, 242
jaguars, 80, 136, 139, 186, 188–89, 191, 193, 196, 199
Jones, Christopher, 106
Josserand, J. Kathryn, x, 234
Joyce, Rosemary, 8, 173, 177, 235, 238

Kamia, 175
Kaminaljuyu, 96, 100, 103–4
Kekchi Maya, 100, 103, 222
Kelley, David, 159, 161
K'iche', 181, 182
Kimil, 220
kings, 75, 81–83, 85, 114, 143, 148, 156, 188, 192–93, 196, 223, 236
kinship, x, 70, 106, 111–12, 115, 117–23, 141, 147
Klamath, 175
Kololte, 109
Kramer, Karen L., 37, 41
Krochock, Ruth J., viii, 237, 241
Kubler, George, 7

La Florida, 123
La Muñeca, 84–85, 239
labor, ix, xi, 12–30, 31–51, 52–67, 70, 77–80, 83, 127, 226, 231–33, 242–44
Lacandon Maya, xi, 15, 18, 20–22, 49, 107, 111, 210
lactation, 14, 21, 37–38, 42, 50, 74–75, 181
Lake Atitlan, 224
Lake Peten Itza, 45
Lakota, 175
Lamanai, 74
Landa, Bishop Diego de, ix, 80, 105, 179, 209, 215–18, 221–22, 224, 226, 233
Lang, Sabine, 175
Lentz, David, 57
Levanthal, Richard, 26
Levi-Strauss, 238
Lincoln, Charles, 162
lineages, vii, viii, x, 8, 67, 83, 85–87, 90, 93, 99, 106, 110, 139, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 168–69, 236
Little Big Horn, 69
Looper, Matthew G., viii, ix, 235
Lubantun, 73, 80

macaw, 96
Machaquila, 92
Magdalenas, 138
maguey, 53–54, 60–65, 244
maize, 36, 39–40, 61, 73–75, 86, 173, 181, 211, 218–19, 225, 234–35
Maize God, 17, 23–24, 76, 174, 177, 179–180, 182–84, 195, 197–200
male gaze, 231, 244
Marcus, Joyce, 7, 114, 117, 243
marriage alliances, 7, 84, 119–21, 126–27, 139, 141, 144, 166, 211, 218–19, 222–23, 236–37
Martin, Simon, 10, 92, 148

masculinity, 2, 19
Mathews, Peter, 86–87, 107, 139
Maudslay, Alfred P., 6, 171
Mayapan, 153
McAnany, Patricia, 42, 48, 50
McCafferty, Sharisse, viii, 54, 242–43
McCafferty, G. and S., 54
medicine, 209
men, 2, 51, 75–76, 81, 86, 89, 97, 115, 127, 136, 152, 164, 169, 200, 203–5, 209, 217, 226, 230, 232
menopause, 204, 222, 224, 233
menstruation, ix, 173, 211, 218
Mérida, 37
Middle Range Theory, 68
Milbrath, Susan, 10, 211, 215
Miller, Jeffrey, 114
Miller, Mary E., 8, 11, 197
Miller, Virginia, 8
milpa, 216, 233, 240–41; farming of, 18, 20, 24, 34, 37, 42
Mississippians, 46
Mixtec, 219
Mohave, 175
Molloy, John P., 7
Mopan Maya, 100, 103, 224
moon, 173, 211
Moon Goddess, ix, x, 99–103, 108, 111–15, 174, 181–84, 195, 198, 200, 209–10, 223, 232, 242. *See also* Goddess O, Chak Chel
Multepal, 153
Museo Ix Chel, 128

de la Nada, Fray Pedro Lorenzo, 107
Naranjo, viii, x, 1, 78, 106, 117, 119, 129, 131, *133*, 139, 143, 148, 155–56, 181, 183–84, 195, *196*, 197, 199
Nash, June, 41
Native North Americans, 68–69, 174, 235
Navajo, 175
Neff, L. Theodore, 42
Neff, Linda S., x, 231
net costume, 173–74, 182, 184, 193
net skirt costume, 23, 76, 178, 181–82
Nichols, S. L., 65
North American, 175, 176, 184, 201
nursing. *See* lactation
nutrition, 72–75, 81, 86–87

Oaxaca, 80
obsidian, 7, 86, 108
offerings, 221
Olivares, Nora M., 74
Olmec, viii
oral history, 69
Otumba, 65
Oxkintok, 83, 85

Paddler Gods, 186
Palenque, x, 7, 87, 92–93, 106, 109, 115–19, *132*, 136, 139, 143–44, 147–48, 156, 160, 178, 180–82, *183*, 184, 189, *190*, 191, *192*, 193, 195, 198–99
Palerm, A., 21
Palka, Joel, 10
Parker, Joy, 177
Parsons, J. R. and M. H., 53
patrilineal descent, 105–6, 109–12, 118–23, 141, 147–49, 155–56, 199
performance, 177, 200, 235
perspective, 226
Peten, 96, 103, 104, 164
Piedras Negras, 6, 117–19, 125, 129, *130*, 144, *145*, *146*, 147–48, 180, 194
pigs, 80
Pochutlas, 107, 111
polygyny, 121
Pomona, 110–11
Popul Vuh, 39–40, 80, 181–82, 221, 240
porotic hyperostosis, 74
pottery, viii, xi, 23, 43, 52, 55, 66, 70, 76–77, *79*, 87, 94, 96–97, 115, 129, 136, 139, 160, 176, 193, 233; production, xi, 77–78
Prechtel, Martin, 224–25
pregnancy, 14, 20, 101, 211, 218–19, 222
priests, 215, 216, 222

prisoners, 107–8, 109–10, 115, 136
procreation, 219
production, 231
Proskouriakoff, Tatiana, 6, 114, 155, 205
Pulltrouser Swamp, 48
Putun Maya, 164
Puuc hills, 83, 85
Pyburn, K. Anne, 238

queens, 1, 6, 10, 82, 114–15, 126, 147–48, 156, 236, 239, 242
Quenon, Michel, and Genevieve Le Fort, 178
Quetzal, 96
Quiche Maya, 39–40, 210–11, 219, 223, 240–41, 243
Quiriguá, 180, 184, *185*, 186, *187*, *188*, 189, 191, 193–94, 199

rabbit, 102
Rathje, William J., 7
Redfield, Robert, 37, 45
religious obligations, 217
representation, 5, 18, 24
reproduction, 14, 241
Richards, J., 69
rituals, ix, 19, 35, 57, 66, 100, 104, 115, 117–18, 127–39, 143, 147, 159, 160, 192, 194, 197, 204–5, 215, 217, 221, 224, 226, 236
Robin, Cynthia, xi, 231
Romano, Arturo, 108
Rosenbaum, Brenda, 70
Roys, Ralph, 166

sacbeob, 162
Sahagún, Bernardino de, 53–54, 63, 105
salt, 154, 164
San Andres Larrainzar, 138
San Antonio, Belize, 224
San Cristóbal de las Casas, 120, 128
San Jose Peten, 45
San Pedro la Laguna, 224–25
Sanday, Peggy Reeves, 40
Santa Marta, Virgin of, 111
Santa Rita, 125
Santiago Atitlan, 66
Schele, Linda, viii, 8, 10, 86–87, 99, 106, 109, 139, 153, 155–56, 164, 166, 177, 181, 198, 210
Schellhas, Paul, 210
Schultze, Jena, 223
scribes, 204–5, 217, 222
Seibal, 80
serpents, 99, 215, 223, 225–26, 236
sewing, 219, 220
Shafer, Harry J., 48
Sharer, Robert J., 90
Sheets, Payson, 55, 57
shell, 63, 76, 81, 83, 86–87, 94, 96–97, 102, 131, 139, 179, 194
Siberian, 176
skeletal remains, vii, 10
Sna Jolobil, 128
snake, 186, 188–89, 191–93, 199, 220
social reproduction, 69
Solorzano, 105
space, 26, 28, 32, 43, 184, 231
Spaniards, viii, 37, 40, 70–71, 78, 106, 111, 113, 203, 231
spatial symbolism, 198
Spector, Janet, 13
Spence, Michael, 85
spider, 101
spindle whorls, viii, 52–67, 160, 225, 238, 240–42
Spinden, Herbert, 6
Spinning, viii, ix, 26, 37, 51–67, 101, 160, 216, 218–19, 225, 238, 240, 243–44
Stevenson, Matilda Coxe, 175
Stone, Andrea, ix, 171, 200, 203, 233–34
Suhler, Charles, 71
Subarctic, 175
Sullivan, Thelma D., 219
Sweely, Tracy, 57, 66
swidden. *See* milpa

Tabasco, 111, 164
Taracans, 37
Tarn, Nathaniel, 224–25
Tate, Carolyn, 10, 114

tattoos, 85
Taube, Karl, 10, 11, 177, 210, 212
Tax, Sol, 37
Tayasal, 125
Tedlock, Dennis, 182, 240, 243
Teotihuacan, viii, x, 83, 85, 92, 96–97, 99–100
textile. *See* cloth
third gender, 24, 171–202, 235–36, 242
Thompson, J. Eric S., 100, 103, 153, 210, 215, 222, 224
Tikal, x, 10, 73, 92, 96, 100, 103, 106, 109, 117, 119, 125, 126, 139, 143, 148, 184, 193, 196–97, *198*, 199–200, 239
time, vii
Tipu, 10, 73–74
Tlaloc-Venus warfare, 106, 109
Toltecs, x
Tonina, ix, 105–13, 237–39
tools, vii, x, 18, 26, 28, 34, 36, 40–41, 43–51, 53–54, 57, 59, 97, 103, 176, 231, 242
Tozzer, Alfed M., 217
trade, 7, 154–55, 165
Tringham, Ruth, 68, 87
Tulum, 205
turkeys, 80
turtle, 178, 184
Two-Spirit, 174, 175, 184, 197
Tzeltal Maya, xi, 111, 224
Tzo'ontahal, 224
Tzotzil Maya, 111, 120, 138, 173, 222–24
Tzutuji, 224–25

Uaxactun, 106
Ucanal, 143
underworld, 76, 110, 138, 178

Vail, Gabrielle, ix, 40, 203, 233–34
Váquez, Barrera, 209
Venus, 100, 112, 223
Veracruz, 154
Verapaz, 176
Villa Rojas, Alfonso, 37, 45
Virgin of Cancuc, 111
vision quest, 201
vulture, 97, 100, 223

warfare, 105–13, 115, 127, 131, 136, 139, 143, 148, 182, 193, 224
warriors, 23, 76, 108, 109–10, 143, 194, 237–38
weapons, 75
weaving, viii–x, 6, 40, 52–67, 70, 83, 99–102, 160, 211–12, 215–16, 218–20, 225, 233, 236, 239–43; weavers, 23, 97, 136
West, R. C., 37
Willey, Gordon W., 139
Williams, Walter, 174, 176
Wisdom, Charles, 100–01

Xculoc, 37, 39
Ximenex, Francisco, 40
Xmucane, 40, 182
Xpiyakok, 182
Xultún, 178
Xunantunich, 24–26, 32, 231

Yadeun, Juan, 108
Yaxchilán, 6–7, 78, 92–93, 106, 108, 114–15, 118, 120–21, 123, *124*, 125–27, *128*, 129, 131, *134*, *135*, 136, *137*, *138*, 139, 141, *142*, 143, 148, 178, 192–93, 222, 238
Yaxha, 143, 148
Yaxuna, vii, viii, 68–88, 237–38, 243
Yucatán, xi, 15, 18, 20, 101, 154, 161, 164–65, 179, 182, 204–5, 209, 217, 223, 226
Yucatec Maya, 15, 18, 21–22, 36–37, 40, 71, 101, 176, 203, 211, 215–17, 225
Yurok, 175

Zapata, Francisco Gil, 107
Zinacantán, 35, 111, 120, 138, 224
Zoques, 54, 111
Zuñi, 175

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Traci Ardren is codirector of the Pakbeh Regional Economy Project centered at the ancient Maya trading city of Chunchucmil, Yucatán, Mexico. Her research has focused on gender, iconography, architecture, and other forms of symbolic representation in the archaeological record. She is currently an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Miami.

Wendy Ashmore explores the spatial and social organization of the ancient Maya and their neighbors, in Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras. Her inquiries have focused on the social and symbolic aspects of Maya civic planning and of household organization. She is currently a professor of anthropology at the University of California, Riverside.

Maricela Ayala Falcón is an epigrapher and historian who specializes in the art and hieroglyphics of the Classic Maya site of Toniná, Chiapas, Mexico. She is currently the director of the Centro de Estudios Mayas at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de México in Mexico City.

Marilyn Beaudry-Corbett specializes in the study of the production and distribution of archaeological ceramics with an emphasis on their role in the economic organization of cultures. She is currently the director of publications for the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at the University of California at Los Angeles, teaches ceramic analysis classes for UCLA Extension Division and the Department of Anthropology, and coordinates the Cotsen Institute's Ceramics Research Group.

Ellen E. Bell is conducting dissertation research at the Classic Maya center of Copan, Honduras, as part of the Early Copán Acropolis Program. Her research focuses on the form, function, and meaning of ritual deposits and the objects they contain and includes the excavation and analysis of the contents of two royal tombs buried deep within the Acropolis. She is currently a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania.

J. Kathryn Josserand specializes in the languages and cultures of Mesoamerica, with a particular interest in understanding pre-Columbian social organization and cultural adaptations through the correlation of linguistic, archaeological, and ethnohistorical data. Her linguistic work includes a large-scale dialect survey of Mixtecan languages and studies of the grammar and discourse structures of modern Chol Maya and the Mayan language recorded in the Classic Maya hieroglyphic writing system. She is currently an associate professor of anthropology at Florida State University.

Ruth J. Krochock is an epigrapher and archaeologist interested in how epigraphy can help us understand the political history and evolution of ancient Maya society. While most of her work has focused on Chichén Itzá, she is now the project epigrapher for research at the Maya site of Yo'okop, Quintana Roo, and the Pakbeh Regional Economy Project.

Matthew G. Looper is an art historian whose research focuses on ancient Mesoamerican art, writing, and the contemporary Maya textiles of Guatemala. He is the author of *Gifts of the Moon: Huipil Designs of the Ancient Maya*, published by the San Diego Museum of Man in 2000. He is currently an assistant professor in the Department of Art and Art History at California State University at Chico.

Sharisse McCafferty is a professional speech–language pathologist, ethnohistorian, and Mesoamerican archaeologist with an interest in gender and textile production. With her best friend and husband Geoff, she has published articles on the murals of Cacaxtla, Tomb 7 of Monte Alban, the Aztec goddess Xochiquetzal, and the spindle whorls of Cholula, Puebla. Forthcoming is a monograph on hand spinning in pre-Columbian Mexico to be published by the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at the University of California at Los Angeles.

June C. Nash has published extensively on Latin America and the United States, particularly focusing on the organization of work in diverse settings of small crop cultivation, artisan production, mining, and industry. A book on the Maya communities with which she worked on and off for the past forty years was published in 2001 with the title *Mayan Visions: The Quest for Autonomy in an Age of Globalization.*

She is distinguished professor of anthropology at the City College and City University of New York.

Linda Stephen Neff has thirteen years of experience working on numerous Mesoamerican and Southwest archaeological research and cultural resource management projects. Her current and past interests include lithic analysis, geographic information systems, public outreach, and research focusing on household, gender, textiles, and power. She currently works as an applied anthropologist producing culturally relevant, interactive K–12 Internet curricula for Navajo children.

Cynthia Robin just completed a multiyear research project focusing on the everyday lives of ancient Maya farmers living in the vicinity of the civic-ceremonial center of Xunantunich, Belize (1994–97). Her theoretical and methodological focus is on everyday life, including aspects of gender theory, social organization, households, and settlements. She is currently an assistant professor of anthropology at Northwestern University.

Andrea Stone is an art historian whose recent research has focused on Mesoamerican rock art and the sociopolitical context of Maya art and hieroglyphic writing. She is the author of a book on Maya cave art, *Images from the Underworld: Naj Tunich and the Tradition of Maya Cave Painting* (1995). Her work on gender includes a chapter in *Women's Roles in Ancient Civilizations,* edited by Bella Vivante (1999). She is currently a professor and chair of art history at the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee

Gabrielle Vail is the director of a project funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities to prepare a commentary and on-line database of the Madrid codex. Over the past decade, her research has focused on analyzing the Maya manuscripts from the perspective of ritual and religion, the hieroglyphic texts, and calendrical cycles. She is currently a research specialist at New College of the University of South Florida.